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Inside: 1992 Roster

California JOURNAL

INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

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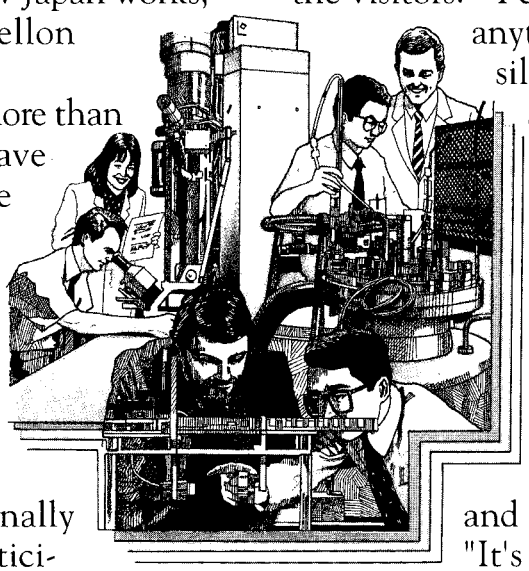
Where U.S. Researchers Find a Home Away From Home In Japan

Researchers are adventurers at heart. So it's no surprise that when Hitachi invited materials scientist Dr. Joseph O. Artman to spend six months this year working at its Central Research Laboratory (HCRL) in Tokyo, he eagerly accepted. "It gave me an opportunity to work in a new area, magneto-optics, and to see for myself how Japan works," recalls the Carnegie Mellon University professor.

Dr. Artman is one of more than 40 U.S. scientists who have worked in Japan over the last six years as participants in Hitachi's Research Visit Programs (HIVIPS). The programs aim to advance science through collaborative research and to enrich participants' lives personally and professionally. Participants work side-by-side with Hitachi scientists on basic problems in electronics and information systems.



For Dr. C.A. Cain, chairman of the University of Michigan's Bioengineering Program, HIVIPS proved a welcome sabbatical. "For the first time in years, I was able to pursue new ideas without interruption," he says. "In my time there, I basically defined my research directions for the next five years."

HIVIPS participants were struck by the effort to make them feel at home in Japan. "One of the nicest things about the program was the friends I made," says Dr. Cain. "We still do joint research and exchange visits," he adds.

HCRL's research facilities impressed the visitors. "I could do just about anything to a piece of silicon that I wanted to," says John Snyder, a Stanford University doctoral student in electrical engineering, who worked on a new kind of transistor. The visitors also appreciated the natural beauty of HCRL's campus,with its goldfish-stocked lake and sheltering woodlands. "It's an oasis of calm in Tokyo," says Dr. Cain.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the HIVIPS program. We believe that it can make a significant contribution to science, to its participants' lives, and to a better understanding between the U.S. and Japan.

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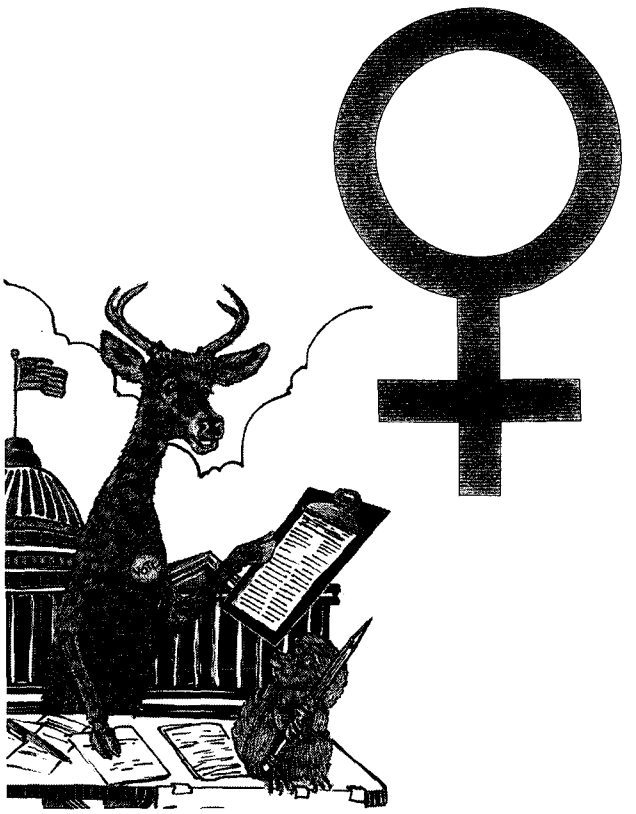

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UP FRONT

Two David Robertis and a Johan Klehs for a Willie Brown? Would you make that trade? Well, you may have a chance if a new "collectible" now available in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Maryland makes its way to California: legislative trading cards. Seems several special-interest groups in those states are producing the cards, complete with pictures and vital political statistics (year of election, education, committee assignments, victory margin in previous election). According to the January edition of *State Government News*, the Indiana cards were printed by the Ball State Alumni Association to create "goodwill" in the capital; the Maryland cards were distributed by the Maryland Teachers Association (which pirated the idea from the National Education Association, which makes congressional trading cards) for the same reason; and the Pennsylvania cards were sent out by a pro-business political action committee. The latter cards generated some good and ill will, however, since lawmakers' pro- and anti-business voting records were also displayed. Naturally, any California cards would have to contain fund-raising records. And of course, legislators would offer their autographs for sale at card shows, right along with Willie Mays and Jose Canseco.

So, would you trade two David Robertis for a Willie Brown? Which card, carefully preserved over the next 20 or 30 years, will be worth more to a collector? How much will a Bill Lancaster be worth, now that the veteran lawmaker has announced he will not seek re-election in 1992? How about a B.T. Collins "rookie card?" How about an Alan Robbins "error card?" The sky's the limit.

Better to be inept than a prevaricator. One of the strangest episodes of the Wilson administration unfolded in the week after his second State-of-the-State address early last month. In that message, which emphasized the sorry condition of the state's economy, Wilson sought to build personal identification with those suffering in these poor economic times by describing conversations he had held with an out-of-work carpenter, a farm worker unemployed because of last winter's freeze and a businessman forced to lay off some employees. Wilson said he has "looked into the face" of each. But when the *San Jose Mercury-News* asked just who these people where, their reporters were told that the characters were only "allegorical" or "symbolic" and were not, in fact, real people. Only after the story spread statewide did Wilson come forth and say that these folks really did exist. In fact, Wilson produced all three at a press conference a few days later. Then he said he would spend more "quality time" with his press office and took the blame for a "massive failure of communication internally." The incident only served to reinforce a growing perception that the Wilson public relations operation, so efficient when Wilson was a candidate, is having a great deal more trouble coping with Wilson as governor. Feisty, independent and sometimes quick-tongued, Wilson can be a press relations handful, particularly since the death of his close friend and advisor, Otto Bos, who knew Wilson well and had the ability to keep the governor on track. This has given Wilson more political problems — both with the right wing of his own party and with legislative Democrats — than necessary. Still, the press was quick to jump on the story and believe the worst about Wilson. Coming on the heals of Wilson's proposed welfare cuts, the notion Wilson made up the characters reinforced the Democrats' contention that Wilson, despite his rhetoric and the tough times, is concerned more with the plight of the wealthy than of the average citizen.

Speaking of performances. The Wilson administration put on the shortest budget briefing in memory when it unrolled this year's precariously balanced state budget. In less than an hour, Wilson and his finance director, former state Treasurer Thomas Hayes, trotted out a $43.8 billion general-fund budget where expenditures are less than $100 million above this year. What little new cash that will be available will be used to pay off bills from this year's budget. Since the new budget calls for full financing of the state's public schools, reporters were puzzling over just what would be cut. But Hayes and Wilson didn't stay around long enough to explain, other than to point out reductions in welfare that have been a budget hallmark for Wilson. As a result, the actual extent of the cuts dribbled out in a series of news articles: The state parks program would be decimated; special districts would have to find revenue of their own; people on Medi-Cal would get fewer services; and the state would, in effect, go without an emergency reserve fund. Furthermore, in order to make the budget work at all, Wilson needs the Legislature to make a number of changes now, before the end of the fiscal year, including the welfare cuts and a reduction in state worker salaries. Lawmakers, of course, won't do that. It would be folly for them to give in to Wilson demands in advance of a complete budget package. Wilson knows this, but it will lend credence to charges he is sure to make during this coming election season that the state's budget woes are the fault of Democrats in the Legislature rather than Republicans in the governor's office.

Shortest Political Honeymoon award: San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan. Only nine days after taking over the city's top job, Hizz-new-oner was lambasted by the press and by Bay Area sports fans for losing one of the city's crown jewels — baseball's San Francisco Giants. Team owner Bob Lurie announced on January 15th that he was taking his franchise south as soon as a new stadium can be built for it in San Jose. Following that bombshell, Jordan was pilloried in the press and on Bay Area talk shows because, it was reported, he paid scant attention to the Giants during the mayoral campaign. The Giants have been trying for years to put together a deal to extract themselves from their current home — 30-year-old Candlestick Park, routinely deemed the

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worst among 26 major league ballparks. Lurie has been threatening to pull out of San Francisco if the city didn't come up with a new stadium, and he took the first step toward making that threat a reality when he and San Jose Mayor Susan Hammer announced a stadium deal in the South Bay. If all the pieces fall into place, the team would move to its new digs in time for the 1994 season. Meanwhile, it was reported that Lurie was furious with Jordan for proposing during the campaign that the city "save" the Giants by renovating Candlestick Park and for not meeting with or calling the team owner after winning the election. Nine days. Welcome to elective politics, Mr. Mayor.

Shortest Political Memory award: anyone in San Francisco who blames new Mayor Frank Jordan for the San Francisco Giants' decision to move to San Jose. Since 1984, the Giants repeatedly have said they would not play in wind-blown Candlestick Park after their current lease expires in the mid-1990s. Team officials have begged the city for a new ballpark. Team owner Bob Lurie has tried and tried and tried to work out a deal with city officials for a new facility in San Francisco. Two separate proposals for new stadiums — one at 7th and Townsend and another in China Basin — were defeated by San Francisco voters: the former in 1987; the latter in 1989. Frank Jordan had been on the job less than two weeks when the Giants announced they were moving to San Jose. The problem of the Giants and Candlestick Park has been around for years.

"Without heroes, we are all plain people and don't know how far we can go."
— Bernard Malamud

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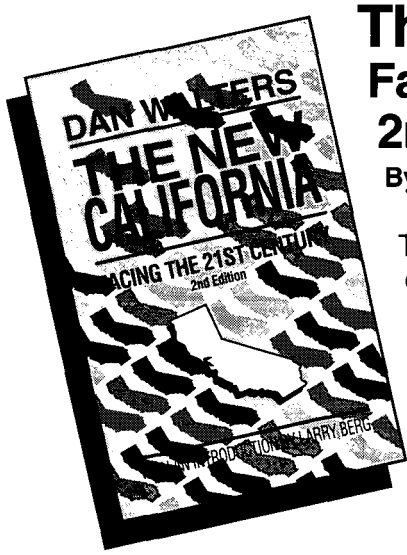

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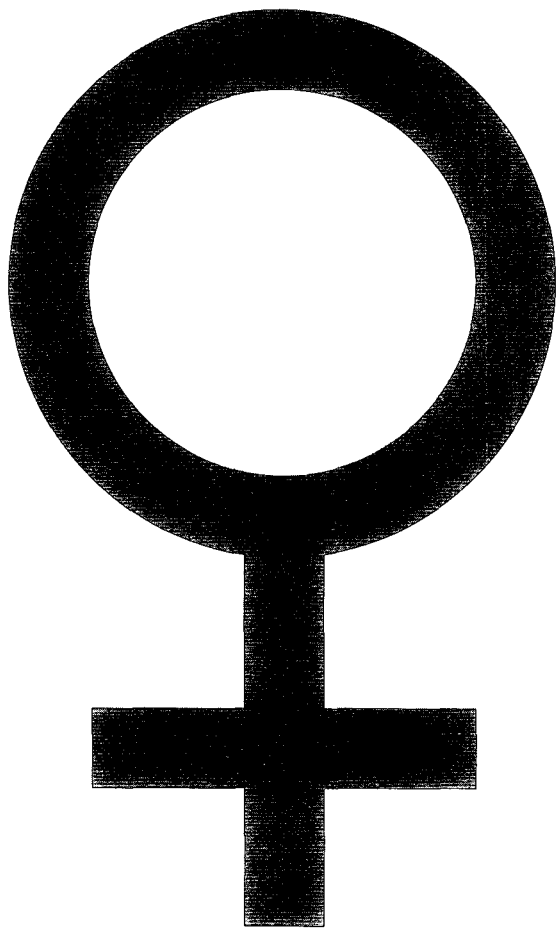
The Woman candidate

A different kind of politician

By Richard Zeiger



Conventional wisdom says that reapportionment years are good for political outsiders. New districts shake things up, creating open seats that can be won by the traditionally disenfranchised.

So under any circumstances, this might turn out to be a good year for women politicians. Many women serve on city councils or boards of supervisors and are in position to take advantage of openings in the state Legislature or in Congress. But beyond that, there are many politicians who believe — with the electorate seemingly disenchanted with politicians — that this may be an exceptionally good time for women to win elective office.

Furthermore, there is an increasing body of evidence to show that the voters would be right when they think electing women will give them a different kind of politician. Recent studies completed by the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University show not only that women politicians worry about a different set of issues than men, but that they actually operate in a different way than their male colleagues, trying harder to listen and bring in the opinions of groups that have been left out of the process.

The stereotypes about women, and particularly about women politicians, that have long functioned as a way of keeping them out of the political limelight, may now turn into an asset. Women were perceived as not tough enough to play on political ball fields; they didn't have the crass characteristics necessary to make it in the rough-and-tumble of politics. But now, polls say, the voters don't care much for the rough-and-tumble. They feel politicians care too much about the game, and not enough about the voters they are supposed to serve. The very "caring" nature — once viewed as a liability for women thought of as "too soft" for the political arena — is now perceived as an asset. And if voters are angry enough, it may be a very big asset to *not* be "one of the boys."

"It may be enough that we are viewed as part of the solution, and not part of the problem," noted Nevada Lieutenant Governor Sue Wagner.

"Women are more conscientious about their work and are less controlled by the process of politics," noted Republican state Senator Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. "They are interested in finding solutions, and the public recognizes that."

Continued on next page

Christopher Elliot, a journalism graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, contributed to this story. Richard Zeiger is editor of the California Journal.

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The number of women in public office, both in California and across the country has been steadily growing. In 1969 women comprised only 4 percent of elected representatives in state legislatures, compared with 18.3 percent in 1991. In California, 21 of the 120 legislative seats, or 17.5 percent, are held by women.

A study by the secretary of state's office indicates that, at least in recent years, women are winning office at about the same rate as men, an indication that, at least, there is no longer an electoral disadvantage to being a women. In the 1990 elections, 106 of 615 candidates were women, about 17.4 percent. This is roughly the same percentage that have sought office in each of the past five election cycles, according to the study.

But in that first year, 1982, only 14 women were elected to the state Legislature, or under 12 percent.

Gains at the higher levels of politics have been slower in coming. The Congress, for example, remains a male bastion. As of last year, women held only 6.4 percent of the seats in the House of Representatives and only two seats, or 2 percent, in the Senate.

Indeed, it was the lack of representation in the Senate, graphically on display during hearings on Clarence Thomas' confirmation for the U. S. Supreme Court, that has become something of a rallying point for female politicians across the country. Groups promoting women candidates in both parties reported a surge in donations following the hearings. The money will provide an early boost for women candidates at all levels during the coming election season.

Deborah Hicks, communications director for Emily's List, a national group whose members promote women candidates, said the group's membership increased by 70 percent in the months following the Thomas hearings.

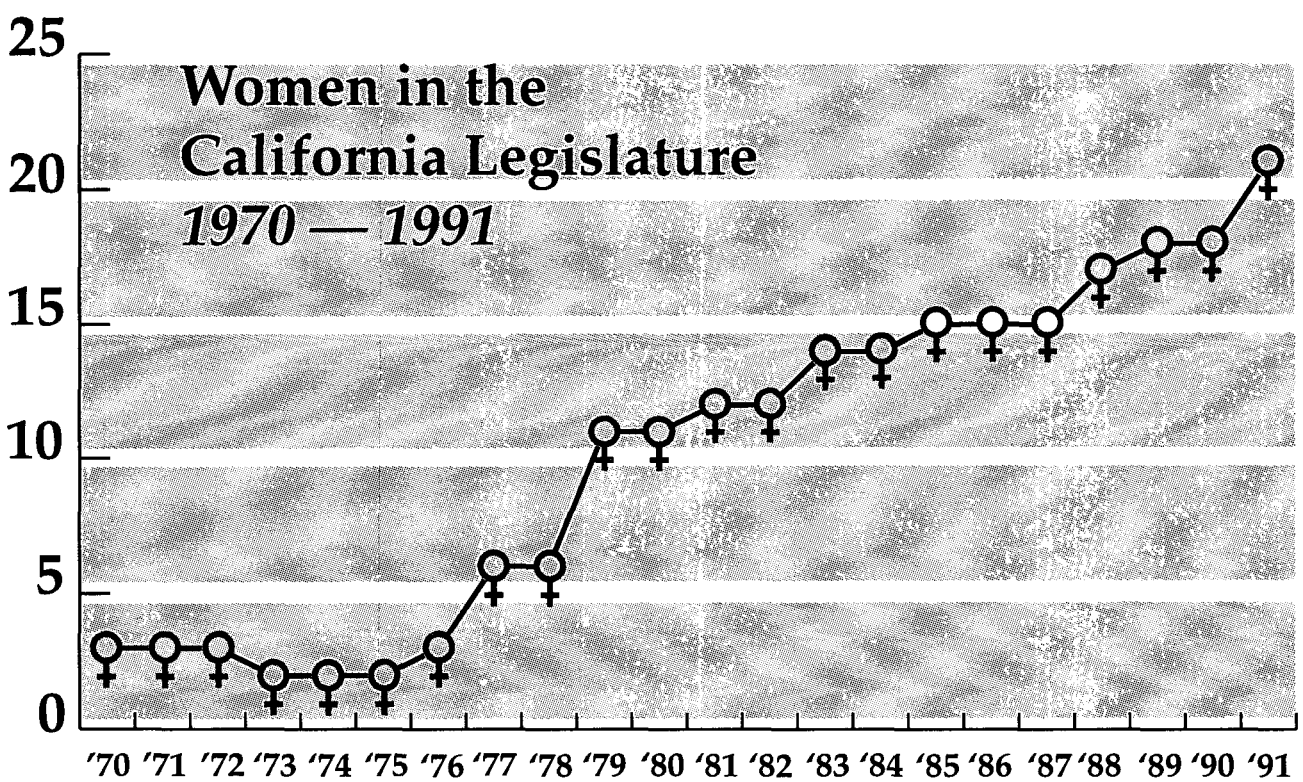
The situation in California has not escaped the attention of women's groups. After all, it is possible, with former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein running for one U.S. Senate seat and Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Boxer running for another, that California by itself could double the number of women in the U.S. Senate. Emily's List, for example, has already sent out a mailer to its members urging them to support both Boxer and Feinstein.

But if gains have been slow at the top, they have been nothing short of spectacular at lower levels. For example, the number of women on city councils or as mayors in California has increased by 111 percent, from 220 to 465, during the 10 years before 1985, according to a study by the Rutgers center.

And it is these lower-level political offices, on city councils or school boards, that have traditionally been the point of entry for women politicians. Their male colleagues might jump to the Legislature from private industry, or, more likely, from the staff of an incumbent, but women win their stripes the hard way.

But even if they have labored for years at lower governmental levels, women still are perceived by the voters as outsiders. And in this election year, that might prove to be an enormous advantage. Furthermore, the new study by the Center for the American Woman and Politics shows that women really do behave differently than most male politicians.

For one thing, the study shows that women have a significantly different policy agenda than men. They are more likely to make issues involving health care or children — and, of course, women's rights — their top legislative priorities than are men. Even Republican women legislators were more likely to have one of these issues as a top priority than their male colleagues, even when party differences were taken into consideration. Not only that, but women legislators apparently have a significantly different style of lawmaking than do their



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male colleagues The study shows that women are more likely to reach out to citizen groups or to the economically disadvantaged for legislative support than are men. And they are more adamant that government be conducted in public than their male colleagues.

The study also showed that these policy differences and differences in approach to government hold up even when women move into leadership positions within a legislature.

The differences don't exist for all women or all men, but the study shows that, more likely than not, when voters select a woman, they really *will* be getting a different kind of politician.

Still, there are major hurdles to be overcome before women can expand their numbers, and impact, substantially.

Although the amount of seed money for women candidates is growing, they still fall short when it comes to collecting the early money necessary to get a campaign started.

"In 1992, candidates that can put together campaign organizations and campaign dollars will be the most successful," noted Kate Karpilow, executive director for the California Elected Women s Association for Education and Research. "A lot of women feel they have a harder time raising money than men."

And although many women believe that Proposition 140, the initiative measure limiting terms in the state Legislature to six or eight years, will, at least in the short run, be good for women, others think that, ultimately, professional women politicians will find the limits just as discouraging as do their male colleagues.

Indeed, there are those who believe that women, who now hold a higher proportion of local offices, may be unwilling to give them up for the relative insecurity of life in the state Legislature.

"It could be that women don't want to run for a few short terms in office," noted Nettie Becker, co-chair of the Los Angeles Women's Campaign Fund, "They'd be putting all that time and money into a campaign and then be out there afterwards looking for a job."

And while disenchantment with the political system and "politics as usual" may work to the advantage of women candidates, it is not clear what effect a sagging economy will have on their fortunes. After all, economics, money, has traditionally been the province of men.

State Treasurer Kathleen Brown, for one, believes that women candidates have a harder time than men proving they understand money and the economy.

"At every stop in my campaign I'd have to go over the size of the budgets I'd administered and how many bonds I'd sold. I'd have to prove myself each time. It became my mantra," said Brown.

If a woman can overcome this initial skepticism, though, Brown, too, believes women will have an advantage in this election year.

"Women have an extremely good opportunity to move in this environment. We're positioned; we're moving up," she said.

Bergeson, among others, argues that even questions of the economy will work for women this time around. "In tough times," she said, "it comes down to setting priorities. And the issues that concern women, health and the family, are right at the top of most people's priority lists."

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Mayor Frank Jordan

A conservative ex-cop takes over San Francisco

By Susan Yoachum

It was as wildly improbable a political scenario as you could imagine: San Francisco boots a liberal, boosts an ex-cop and confounds those who remember that the last mayor sailed into office with 70 percent of the vote.

How times change. Art Agnos, the outgoing mayor lost his landslide backing in four short years. And Frank Jordan, the former police chief, picked up a following of the conservative, the disaffected and the fed-up.

Polls taken before the November 7, 1991, election and the December 10, 1991, runoff showed that voters considered homelessness to be San Francisco's Number One problem. Jordan had proposed a get-tough plan of warrant checks and workfare for the homeless and aggressive panhandlers; Agnos had been the leader of Camp Agnos — a large collection of homeless people with shopping carts and tents who settled in across from City Hall.

No matter that Jordan backed away from his tough proposal almost as soon as it was uttered or that Agnos' plan of multi-service centers for the homeless appeared to be working. Voters were fed up with the problem of panhandlers and the homeless on the streets, and polls showed they were fed up with Agnos himself.

"I don't think Frank Jordan beat me. I mean, what does he stand for that beat me? Clean streets and graffiti?" Agnos said. "I think it was a referendum on the conditions and the anxiety that people feel about the times."

In many ways, the election also was a referendum on Agnos. A popular former assemblyman, Agnos was elected mayor of San Francisco in 1987 with the strong backing of the city's politically powerful neighborhoods. In a campaign that was to prove prophetic, Agnos beat the consummate insider, Supervisor John Molinari, whose personality became

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Susan Yoachum is a political writer for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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an issue and who ran a lousy campaign.

Then Agnos retreated from public view, content to solve problems inside City Hall in much the same way he had when he was a legislator in Sacramento. Those who had dealings with him came back with stories about his sharp tongue and his temper, and he developed a label that started to sound like a single word — "mean and vindictive."

When the Loma Prieta earthquake struck on October 17, 1989, Agnos experienced what were to be his finest moments in office. Not only did he soothe the city by his tireless work with victims and his ubiquitous presence on television and radio, he also used his temper to great advantage. He yelled at Vice President Dan Quayle, and took on the venerable Red Cross — and won.

But when the crisis had passed, he closeted himself back inside City Hall, and even liberals who formerly had been his allies thought him vulnerable.

The first was Assessor Richard Hongisto, a former supervisor and former sheriff. And much later — after she had endorsed him — came Supervisor Angela Alioto, the daughter of a popular former mayor, Joe Alioto. On the other side was conservative Supervisor Tom Hsieh, the first Chinese-American to try for the city's top job, and Jordan, who had been Agnos' first police chief.

At first, conventional wisdom gave Jordan almost no chance to beat Agnos. But, as is often the case, conventional wisdom was wrong. Jack Davis, Senator Quentin Kopp's former chief of staff who loathed Agnos, had watched the way Agnos' field operation in 1987 beat Molinari, and he vowed to put together a similar one for Jordan.

With Davis managing Jordan's campaign and Sacramento political consultant Richie Ross spearheading Agnos' effort, there was the potential for mudwrestling that never really materialized, except in whispered charges that Jordan's supporters were promoting racism and homophobia — an accusation Jordan hotly denied.

There was, however, a devastating 30-second commercial by Jordan that used humor to drive home a serious point.

"I'm sorry ... Don't blame me!" warbled the Art Agnos-look alike of the spoof of the late-night K-Tel records commercials. Among Agnos' "greatest hits" that scrolled up the screen while the actor in a blue suit and red tie belted out the tunes were "Homeless City" and "Don't Blame Me for the Deficit."

The serious point, of course, was that after beginning his campaign by boasting that San Francisco was in "excellent" shape, Agnos reversed himself completely by the end of the campaign as he repeatedly confessed that he had made mistakes and asked voters to give him a second chance.

While Agnos was sharpening his skills at public apology, Jordan, a soft-spoken career cop, was beginning to find his voice on the stump. After Davis made him watch videotapes of himself, Jordan's awkward speaking style improved to the point where the Agnos camp began to attack on substance.

"Where's the beef?" became the rallying cry for Agnos, who charged that Jordan lacked the knowledge and specificity to run the city. Agnos' campaign polls showed that this tactic struck a chord with voters — until a debate televised on KPIX-TV. In the debate, Jordan showed himself to be both articulate and in command of the facts about the city budget, AIDS and other issues, and, although Agnos delivered a moving *mea culpa* about the things he'd do differently, it wasn't enough.

The night Jordan won, Agnos surprised observers by mingling with supporters as soon as the polls closed — and by refusing to concede until after Jordan claimed victory. Agnos believers were angry that night: Supervisor Roberta Achtenberg joked about forming a "government in exile," and the Reverend Cecil Williams, pastor of Glide Memorial Church, accused Jordan of running a campaign founded on racism. But Achtenberg and Williams are players, and by inauguration day, Williams had embraced the new mayor.

Since Jordan won, Agnos has been publicly gracious in post-election press conferences and when he spoke on stage at Davies Hall just before Jordan took the oath of office. After being sworn in, Jordan pledged to be a "citizen mayor."

"My intention is to be a citizen mayor who remains close to the people of San Francisco — in touch with their concerns, in step with their aspirations, in stride with their desire for a city that is clean and safe, compassionate and just — a city that offers hope to those in need and opportunity and fulfillment to all its citizens," Jordan said. "I come to this office not to advance a political career, but to serve the people of this city."

Jordan's background would suggest that he means his last statement, however good a springboard the San Francisco mayoralty may be to higher office.

Jordan, 58, was born, reared and educated in San Francisco, graduating from Sacred Heart High School and the

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University of San Francisco. For 33 years, he served as an officer on the San Francisco police force, where he spent 15 years performing community service work and created the department's community services division. He also headed the crime prevention unit, where he supervised the formation of neighborhood watch programs.

In 1986 Jordan was appointed chief of police by then-Mayor Dianne Feinstein, and he remained chief until 1990, when he resigned after Agnos tried to pressure him into signing a pledge that he would not run for mayor against his new boss.

Jordan has three sons, James, 24; Frank, 23; and Thomas, 16. He is engaged to be married to Wendy Paskin, a 37-year-old Wells Fargo Bank vice president.

On his first day in office, Jordan shook hands and gave speeches.

"My intention is to make the office of mayor as warm and inviting as a living room where people can come to share their ideas and to unite in common action," Jordan said. "For me, holding the office of mayor represents the greatest possible opportunity for service. It is the cutting edge of the struggle to serve people through government."

On his second day in office, Jordan told department heads to prepare for severe belt-tightening. On his third day, he told department heads to cut their budgets by 10 percent to deal with what could become a $150 million deficit.

As his actions illustrate, Jordan is a delegator. But that management trait got him into trouble during a transition period where he lost track of the size of his transition team (he thought it was 100; it was really an unwieldy 162) and where he was forced to cancel a $1000-per person fund-raising dinner because it was not in keeping with his populist image.

Jordan, who gets much of his backing from Kopp's conservative, middle-class homeowners' base, also angered Kopp and other supporters when he brought in Hadley Roff, Dianne Feinstein's former chief of staff, to head his operations. Kopp and Feinstein, who is more moderate, have long been at odds, and some Kopp supporters saw Roff's appointment as Jordan abandoning his base.

As is typical of San Francisco, there were a couple of demonstrations — but these took place even before Jordan took office.

"There are some who argue that San Francisco is in decline — a city whose day in the sun has come and gone. This I do not accept. This I totally repudiate," Jordan said. "San Francisco will continue to be one of the greatest cities in the world in which to live, to work and to enjoy life. I have the utmost confidence in our city's future."

As many analysts have pointed out, however, it will take more than confidence to remove the tarnish from San Francisco's image and to repair such difficult social problems such as homelessness and drug abuse. Representative Nancy Pelosi, an Agnos supporter who represents San Francisco in Congress, already has met with Jordan and presented him with a list of federally funded projects for the city that just need his go-ahead.

"I have found him to be very open, very interested," Pelosi said. "We are going to work together."

During the campaign, Jordan created some high expectations. The joke in San Francisco after he was elected was that on inauguration day, the streets would be clean, the homeless would be gone and the AIDs crisis would be solved. Now that the inauguration has come and gone, there are few jokes and probably very little honeymoon left for a mayor who already has been forced to propose budget cuts. Jordan's supporters — a mostly white, older, home-owning crowd in a city of ethnically diverse young renters — believe that Jordan will help them "take back" their city. Agnos' supporters are simply waiting for Jordan to fall flat on his face. Neither outcome is likely in an urban city whose problems defy black-and-white answers.

And Jordan will likely have trouble keeping many of his campaign promises. One in particular is his pledge to declare a state of emergency to enact a needle-exchange program to combat AIDS. The needle-exchange plan, similar to one used in New York, is forbidden under state law, which would necessitate declaring a state of emergency that some advisers fear would anger the law-and-order element of Jordan's support. Even Agnos, a raging liberal in comparison to Jordan, was reluctant to suspend the law so that drug addicts could be provided clean needles.

As for Agnos, it would seem that the one-term mayor has landed on his feet, with a cushy appointment to a $92,000-a-year job on the California Unemployment Appeals Board. What qualifies Agnos for the job is that he is a friend of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, who has the power of patronage when it comes to this appointment.

For Brown, a close colleague of Agnos while the two were in the Assembly, the decision was easy.

"He needed a job," Brown said of his buddy.

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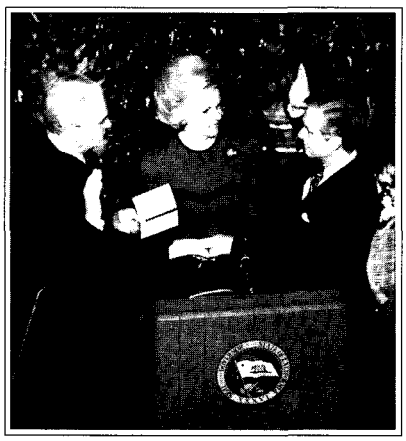

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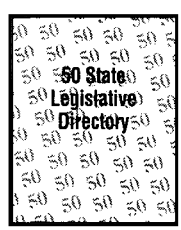

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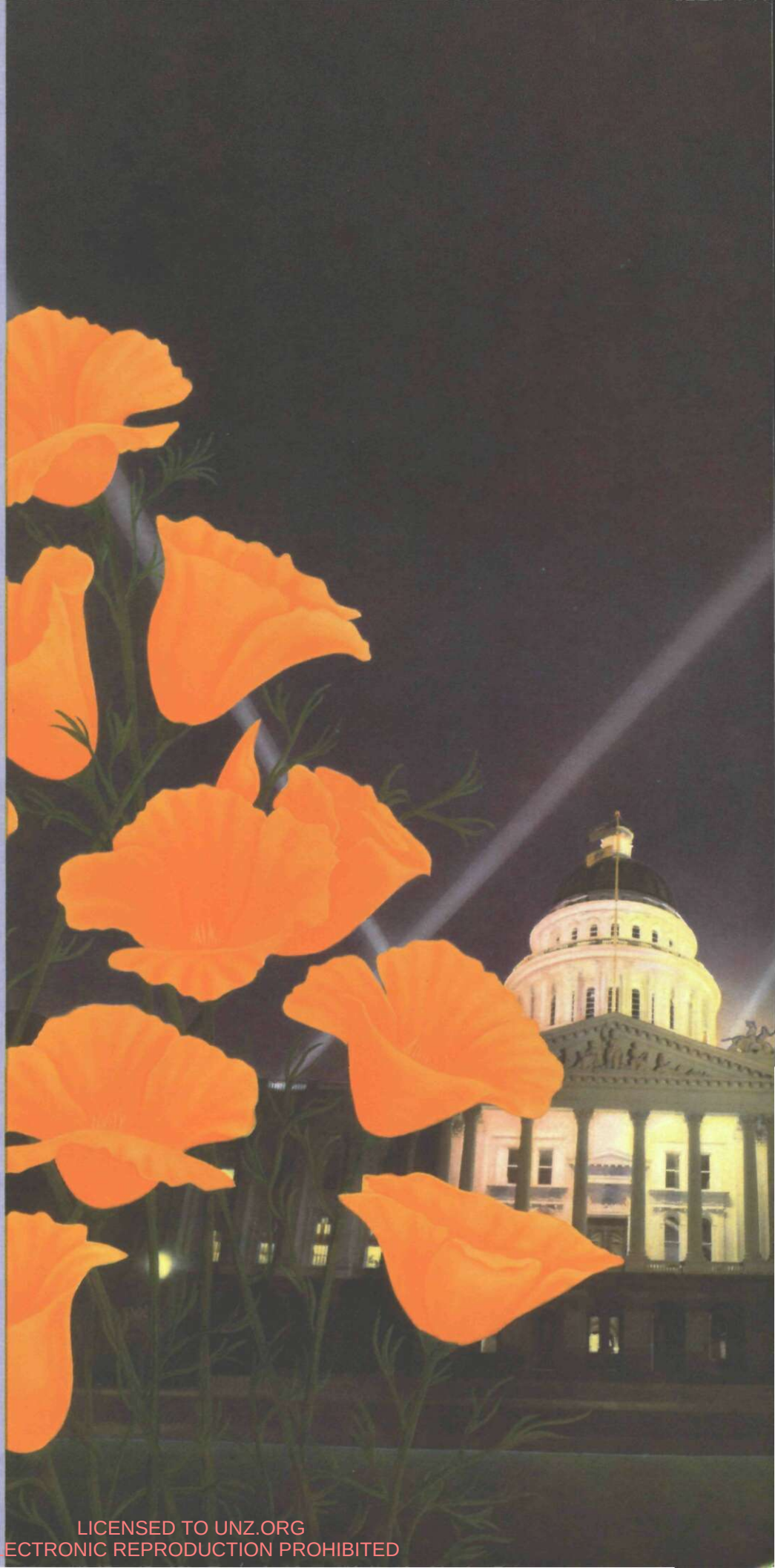

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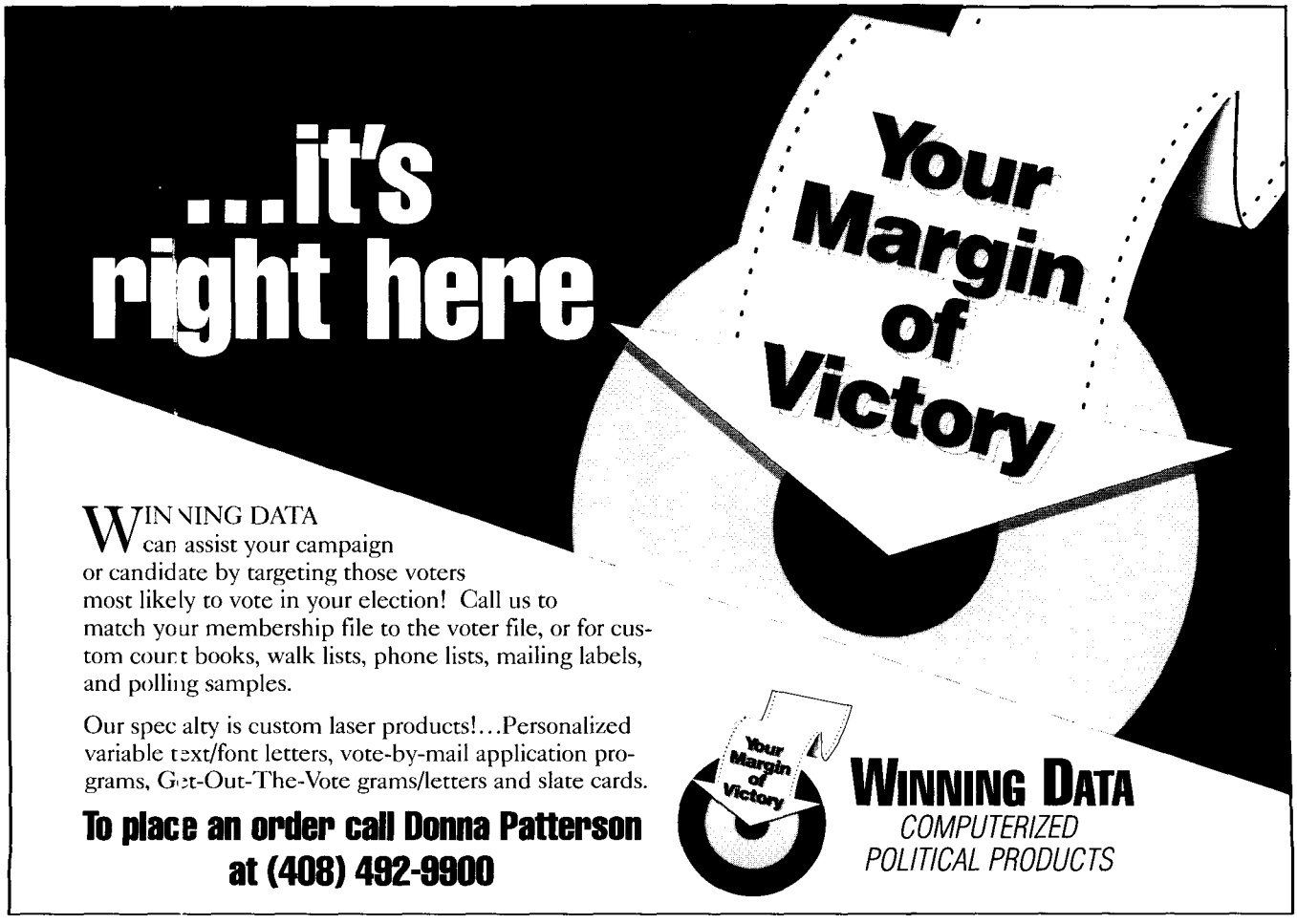
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Tentative Assembly and Senate Calendar for the 1992-93 Regular Session

1992

Jan. 17	Last day for policy committees to report fiscal bills introduced in 1991 to Fiscal Committees.
Jan. 17	Last day to submit bill requests to the Legislative Counsel.
Jan 24	Last day for any committee to report bills introduced in 1991 to the Floor.
Jan. 31	Last day for Assembly or Senate to pass bills introduced in 1991 to the Floor.
Feb. 21	Last day for Assembly or Senate bills to be introduced.
Apr. 9	Last day for policy committees to report fiscal bills to Fiscal Committees.
Apr. 9	Easter Recess begins on adjournment.
Apr. 20	Legislature reconvenes.
May 8	Last day for policy committees to report nonfiscal bills to the Floor.
May 15	Last day for policy committees to meet prior to June 1.
May 22	Last day for Fiscal Committees to report bills to the Floor. No committee should meet prior to June 1.
May 29	Last day for Assembly to pass Assembly Bill or Senate to pass Senate Bills.
June 1	Committee meetings may resume.
July 3	Last day for policy committees to report fiscal bills to Fiscal Committees.
July 3	Last day for policy committees to report nonfiscal bills to Floor.
July 3	Summer Recess begins on adjournment if Budget Bill has been enacted.
Aug. 3	Legislature reconvenes.
Aug. 14	Last day for Fiscal Committees to report bills to Floor.
Aug. 31	Last Day for Assembly and Senate to pass bills.
Aug. 31	Final Recess begins.
Sept. 30	Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature before Sept. 1 and in his possession on or after Sept. 1.
Oct. 2	Bills enacted on or before this date take effect on Jan. 1, 1993.
Nov. 30	Adjournment Sine Die at midnight.
Dec. 7	Convening of 1993-94 Regular Session.

1993

Jan. 1	Statutes take effect.

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4167 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-5416
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1080 University Ave H-201
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2497 W Shaw #106
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Cameron Park 95682 (916) 676-5953
Fax: (916) 676-0319
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145 E Badillo
Covina 91723 (818) 332-6271
Fax: (818) 331-5869
A.A: Arlo Truax

Barbara Lee (D-13)
4005 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7442
Fax: (916) 327-1941
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405 14th St #715
Oakland 94612 (510) 464-0339
Fax: (510) 763-2023
Office Manager: Regina Carey

Ted Lempert (D-20)
2137 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8188
Fax: (916) 324-0012
Chief of Staff: Tom Carroll
1650 Borel Pl #229
San Mateo 94402 (415) 571-9521
Fax: (415) 571-9537
Field Rep: Beverly Orton

Burt Margolin (D-45)
4112 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7440
Fax: (916) 445-0119
Chief of Staff: Diane Griffiths
8425 W 3rd St #406
Los Angeles 90048 (213) 655-9750
Fax: (213) 655-9725
A.A: Bunny M. Wasser

Tom Mays (R-58)
2130 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8492
Fax: Not available
Leg. Aide: Julia King
4510 E Pacific Coast #550
Long Beach 90804 (310) 986-1390
Fax: (310) 986-1392
A.A: Kim Barone

Tom McClintock (R-36)
4102 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7402
Fax: (916) 324-0013
Chief of Staff: Joseph Yocca
350 N Lantana St #222
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Fax: (805) 388-0432
A.A: Craig Primo

Gwen Moore (D-49)
2117 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8800
Fax: (916) 324-6862
Leg. Aide: Amy King
3683 Crenshaw Blvd 5th Flr
Los Angeles 90016 (213) 292-0605
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Richard Mountjoy (R-42)
2175 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7234
Fax: Not available
Leg. Asst: Nancy Leneis
208 N First Ave
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Willard Murray Jr. (D-54)
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Chief of Staff: Ruby Y. Anderson
16444 Paramount Blvd #100
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Pat Nolan (R-41)
4164 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8364
Fax: (916) 322-4398
Chief of Staff: Grant Gillham
143 S Glendale Ave #208
Glendale 91205 (818) 240-6330
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3160 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8292
Fax: Not available
Chief of Staff: Cara Johnson
228 West Carrillo #F
Santa Barbara 93101 (805) 966-2296
Fax: (805) 564-7762
A.A: Carla D. Frisk

Steve Peace (D-80)
2148 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7556
Fax: (916) 322-2271
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2111 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8305
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Fax: (916) 327-3517
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9300 S Broadway
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Fax: Not available
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PO Box 254646
Sacramento 95825 (916) 481-6540
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Gary Hart (D-18)
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Fax: (916) 322-3304
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4082 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2848
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Fax: (916) 443-4739
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631 Tennessee St
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Lucy Killea (D-39)
4062 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3952
Fax: (916) 327-2188
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2550 5th Ave #152
San Diego 92103 (619) 696-6955
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Fax: (916) 327-2186
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363 El Camino Real #205
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Chief of Staff: Robert J. McKenzie Jr.
400 N Mountain Ave #109
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Fax: (714) 939-0730
AA: Don Gilchrist

David Roberti (D-23)
205 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8390
Fax: (916) 323-7224
Chief Assistant: Mel Assagai
3800 Barham Blvd #218
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Fax: (213) 874-8913
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Bill Lockyer (D-10)
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Fax: (916) 447-2559
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1950 Sawtelle Blvd #210
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1020 5th St #B
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Newton Russell (R-21)
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Field Rep: Marilyn Hanson

Mike Thompson (D-04)
3056 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3353
Fax: (916) 323-6958
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1040 Main Street #101
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Rebecca Morgan (R-11)
4090 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6747
Fax: (916) 323-4529
AA: Margie Chisholm
750 Menlo Ave #100
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Art Torres (D-24)
2080 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3456
Fax: (916) 444-0581
AA: Linda Macias
107 S Broadway #2105
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5080 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6577
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4048 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-9781
Fax: Not available
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3600 Lime St #111
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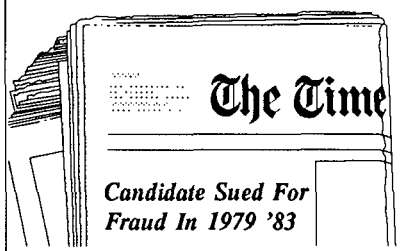

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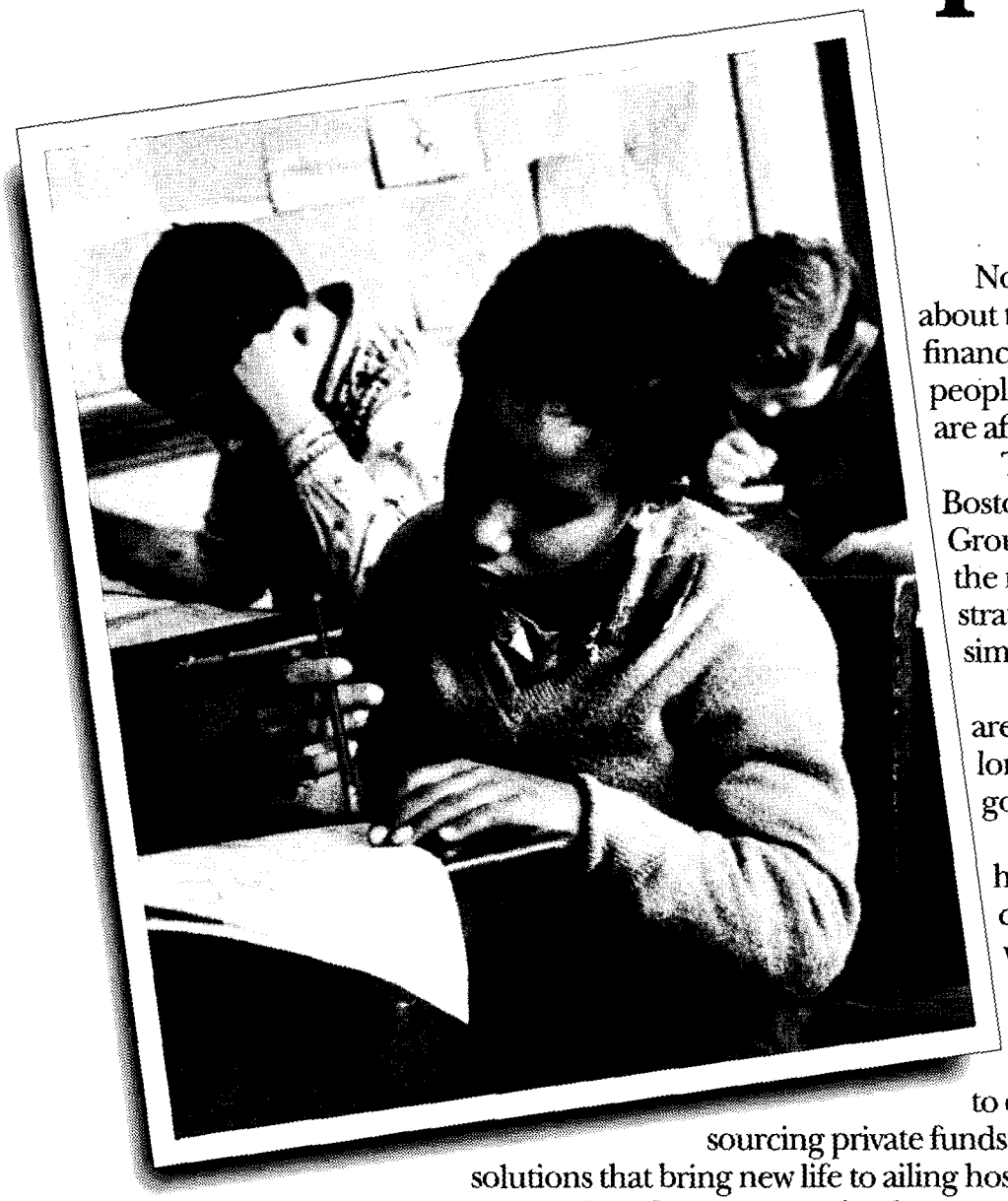

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Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed., 9 AM, Room 447

Insurance
Chair: Burt Margolin (D)
Democrats: Bane, Bronzan, Connelly, Floyd, Klehs, Moore, O'Connell, Peace, Sher
Republicans: Horcher (Vice-Chair), Brulte, Ferguson, Nolan, Statham, Wyman
Consultants: Diane Griffiths, Sandra Michioku, Debra Roth, Steve Suchil, Richard Thomason
Secretary: Claudia Harris
4112 State Capitol 445-9160
Meets: Tues., 9:00 AM, Room 4202

Judiciary
Chair: Phillip Isenberg (D)
Democrats: Archie-Hudson, Connelly, Epple, Floyd, T. Friedman, Speier
Republicans: Bentley (Vice-Chair), Horcher, McClintock, Statham
Consultants: Rubin Lopez, Mikki Bako Sorensen, Gene Erbin
Secretary: Millie Anderson
6005 State Capitol 445-4560
Meets: Wed., 1:30 PM, Room 126

Labor and Employment
Chair: Terry Friedman (D)
Democrats: Archie-Hudson, Floyd, Klehs, Lee, Tanner, Tucker
Republicans: McClintock (Vice-Chair), Kelley, Horcher
Consultants: Patrick Henning, Catherine Leonard
Secretary: Margaret Meritt
2141 State Capitol 445-2657
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed., 9:00 AM Room 447

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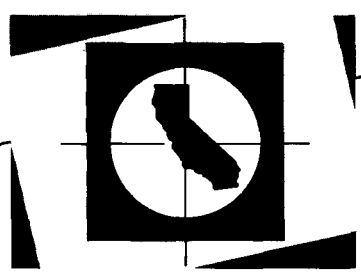

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Local Government
Chair: Sam Farr (D)
Democrats: Becerra, Cannella, Gotch, Hannigan, Hughes, Murray
Republicans: Frazee (Vice-Chair), Boland, Chandler, Lancaster
Consultants: Randy Pestor, Betty Yee
Secretary: Teri Brown
3120 State Capitol 445-6034
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed., 1:30 PM, Room 437

Natural Resources
Chair: Byron D. Sher (D)
Democrats: Bates, Connelly, Farr, T. Friedman, Gotch, Hauser, Hayden, Margolin
Republicans: Allen (Vice-Chair), Bentley, Brulte, Chandler, Frizzelle, Quackenbush
Consultants: Kip Lipper, Jeff Shellito, Paul Thayer
Secretary: Ann E. Boone
2136 State Capitol 445-9367
Meets: Mon., 1:30 PM, Room 444

Public Employees, Retirement and Social Security
Chair: Dave Elder (D)
Democrats: Alpert, T. Friedman, Klehs
Republicans: Andal (Vice-Chair), Bentley
Consultant: Barry Hacker
Secretary: Maxine Bennett
4126 State Capitol 322-4320
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed., 9:00 AM, Room 437

Public Safety
Chair: John Burton (D)
Democrats: *Bates, Lee, Umberg*
Republicans: Boland (Vice-Chair), Bentley
Consultants: Michael Pinkerton, Laura Hankins, Judith Garvey, Paul Gerowitz
Secretary: Rose Morris
1021 O St #A198 445-3268
Meets: Tues., 9:00 AM, Room 126

Revenue and Taxation
Chair: Johan Klehs (D)
Democrats: Becerra, Campbell, Chacon, Elder, Hannigan, Isenberg
Republicans: Mays (Vice-Chair), Andal, Conroy, Hunter
Consultants: Andrew Meyers, Jean Ross, Jim Lites, Wendy Notsinneh
Secretary: Irene Frausto
2013 State Capitol 322-3730
Meets: Mon., 1:30 PM, Room 447

Rules
Chair: Tom Bane (D)
Democrats: Eaves, Polanco, Roybal-Allard, Tucker
Republicans: Filante (Vice-Chair), Frazee, Harvey, Mountjoy
Chief Administrative Officer: Bob Connelly
Secretary: Kaye Packard
3016 State Capitol 445-8173
Meets: Mon., Thurs.,upon call, Room 3162

Televising the Assembly
Chair: Stan Statham (R)
Democrats: Bronzan, Farr, Moore
Republicans: Woodruff
Consultant: Tom Barrett
Secretary: Paula Rossetto
4098 State Capitol 445-7266
Meets: Mon., 4:00 PM, Room 317

Transportation
Chair: Richard Katz (D)
Democrats: Alpert, Areias, Clute, Costa, Eastin, Eaves, Lee, Lempert, Umberg
Republicans: Hansen (Vice-Chair), Baker, Ferguson, Frazee, Lancaster, McClintock
Consultant: John Stevens, Erik Lange, Kate Riley, John Latimer
Secretary: Alice Livingston
3132 State Capitol 445-7278
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon., 1:30 PM, Room 4202

Utilities and Commerce
Chair: Gwen Moore (D)
Democrats: Epple, Floyd, Hughes, Murray, Peace, Polanco, Roybal-Allard, Tucker
Republicans: Conroy (Vice-Chair), Boland, Filante, Horcher, Mountjoy, Wright
Consultants: William Julian, Randy Chinn, Tilford Patterson
Secretary: Yvonne D. Wilson
2117 State Capitol 445-4246
Meets: Mon. 1:30 PM, Room 437

Water, Parks and Wildlife
Chair: Dominic L. Cortese (D)
Democrats: Campbell, Costa, Hauser, Isenberg, Katz, Peace, Speier
Republicans: Kelley (Vice-Chair), Chandler, Filante, Harvey, Wyman
Consultants: Linda Adams, Edna Maita, Patricia Megason
Secretary: Mary Munoz
6031 State Capitol 445-6164
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues., 9:00 AM, Room 437

Ways and Means
Chair: John Vasconcellos (D)
Democrats: Burton, Campbell, Clute, Costa, Eaves, Epple, Hannigan, Hughes, Murray, O'Connell, Polanco, Roybal-Allard, Tucker
Republicans: *Wright (Vice-Chair), Allen, Baker, Felando, Filante, Frizzelle, Hansen, Nolan, Woodruff*
Chief Consultant: Tim Gage
Secretary: Corky Layne
6026 State Capitol 445-7082
Meets: Wed., 9:00 AM, Room 4202

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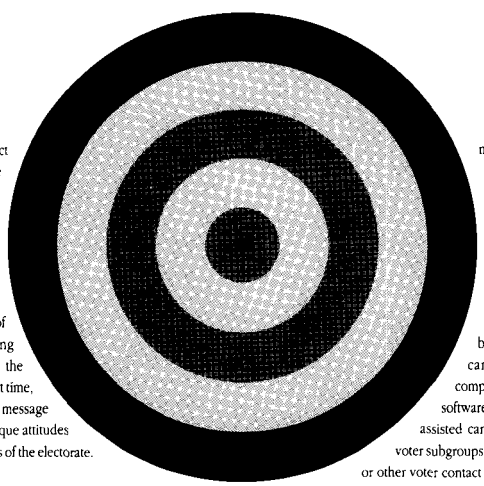

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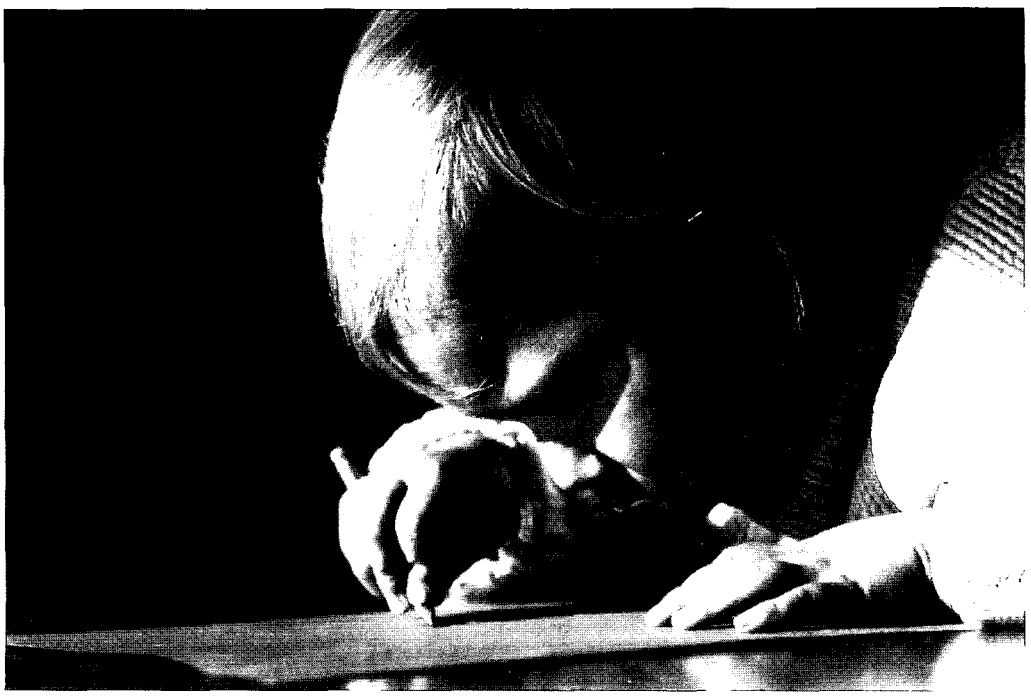

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After an extensive 2-year study, England's Medical Research Council published its results in the prestigious *British Medical Journal*. These physicians found that among all subjects with severe and chronic pain, chiropractic patients improved 13% more than medical patients.

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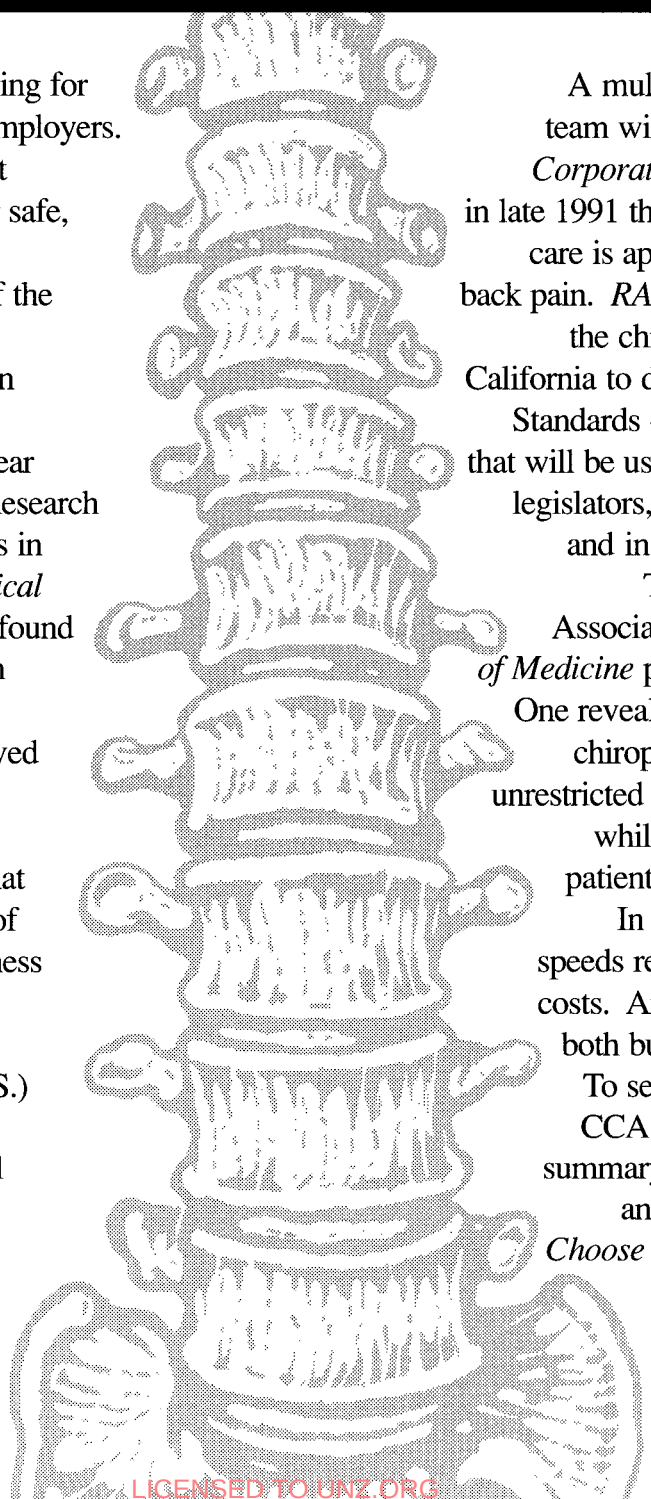

A multi-disciplinary research team with the respected *RAND Corporation* issued two reports in late 1991 that indicate chiropractic care is appropriate for acute low back pain. *RAND* studies are helping the chiropractic profession in California to develop outcome-based Standards of Care documentation that will be useful to clinical doctors, legislators, health policy planners and insurance administrators.

The California Medical Association's *Western Journal of Medicine* published other studies. One revealed that four out of five chiropractic patients enjoyed unrestricted activity within a week, while only half the medical patients recovered as quickly.

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SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

Agriculture and Water Resources
Chair: Ruben S. Ayala (D)
Democrats: Mello (Vice-Chair), C. Green, McCorquodale Presley, Roberti, Thompson, Vuich
Republicans: Craven, Lewis, Rogers
Consultant: Stephen A. Macola
2090 Capitol Building 445-2206
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues., 9:30AM, Room 112

Appropriations
Chair: Robert Presley (Chair)
Democrats: Alquist, Ayala, Dills, L. Greene, Killea, Lockyer, Torres
Republicans: Beverly (Vice-Chair), Bergeson, Davis, Leonard
Staff Director: Karen French
Secretary: Georgia Bradley
2206 Capitol Building 445-3284
Meets: Mon., 9:30 AM, Room 4203

Banking, Commerce and International Trade
Chair: Rose Ann Vuich (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Calderon, L. Greene, Johnston, Marks, Thompson
Republicans: Russell (Vice-Chair), Beverly, Davis
Consultants: Terry J. Miller, Nick Vucinich
Secretary: Anna M. Andrews
2193 Capitol Building 445-6306
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed., 1:30 PM, Room 3191

Budget and Fiscal Review
Chair: Alfred E. Alquist (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Deddeh, Hart, McCorquodale, Petris, Watson
Republicans: Hill Vice-Chair), Leslie, Morgan, Rogers
Staff Director: Steve Larson
Secretary: Barbara Besson
5013 Capitol Building 445-5202
Meets: Thurs., 8:30 AM, Room 4203

Business and Professions
Chair: Daniel E. Boatwright (D)
Democrats: L. Greene, Hart, Keene, McCorquodale, Rosenthal
Republicans: Lewis (Vice-Chair), Craven, Royce
Consultants: Jay DeFuria, Michael G. Gomez
Secretary: Robin Dunn
5046 Capitol Building 445-3435
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon., 1:30 PM, Room 3191

Constitutional Amendments
Chair: Royce (R)
Democrats: Alquis (Vice-Chair), Hart, McCorquodale
Republicans: Maddy
Consultant: Joan Bates
4061 Capitol Building 445-2802
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues., 9:30 AM, Room 112

Education
Chair: Gary K. Hart (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, Dills, C. Green, L. Greene, Johnston, Killea Torres, Watson
Republicans: Morgan (Vice-Chair), Leslie
Consultants: Sue Burr, William D. Whiteneck
Secretary: Sandy Malosh
2053 Capitol Building 445-2522
Meets: Wed., 9:30 AM, Room 4203

Elections and Reapportionment
Chair: Milton Marks (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, B. Greene, Lockyer, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Craven (Vice-Chair), Bergeson, Beverly, Maddy
Consultants: Timothy A. Hodson, Darren P. Chesin
Secretary: Frances Tibon-Estoista
5051 Capitol Building 445-2601
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed., 9:30 AM, Room 3191

Energy and Public Utilities
Chair: Herschel Rosenthal (D)
Democrats: Alquist, L. Greene, Hart, Johnston, Killea, Mello
Republicans: Russell (Vice-Chair), Morgan
Consultants: Paul L. Fadelli, Michael E. Shapiro
Secretary: Patricia J. Stearns
2035 Capitol Building 445-9764
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues., 1:30 PM, Room 112

Governmental Organization
Chair: Ralph C. Dills (D)
Democrats: Alquist, B. Greene, Keene, Lockyer, Mello, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Maddy (Vice-Chair), Beverly, Hill
Consultants: Stephen M. Hardy, Arthur Terzakis
Secretary: Billie Williams
5048 Capitol Building 445-1193
Meets: Tues., 9:30 AM, Room 3191

Health and Human Services
Chair: Diane E. Watson (D)
Democrats: Calderon, Deddeh, Mello, Rosenthal, Thompson
Republicans: Maddy (Vice-Chair), Bergeson, Royce
Consultants: Joyce Iseri, John Miller
Secretary: Geri La Duke
2191 State Capitol 445-5965
Meets: Wed., 1:30PM, Room 4203

Housing and Urban Affairs
Chair: Leroy F. Greene (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Calderon, Killea, Marks
Republicans: Leonard (Vice-Chair), Leslie
Consultants: Teri L. Bressler, Krist A. Lane
Secretary: Claire Lagomarsino
2205 Capitol Building 445-8740
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues., 9:30AM, Room 2040

Industrial Relations
Chair: Bill Greene (D)
Democrats: L. Greene, Lockyer, Petris, Rosenthal
Republicans: Royce (Vice-Chair), Leonard
Consultant: Neil Buraston
Secretary: Mercedes Flores
4039 Capitol Building 445-1237
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed., 9:30AM, Room 2040

Insurance, Claims and Corporations
Chair: Vacant
Democrats: C. Green, Keene, McCorquodale, Torres, Johnston
Republicans: Davis (Vice-Chair), Lewis, Rogers
Consultants: Sal Bianco, Leah Cartabruno
Secretary: Maureen Brooks
5122 Capitol Building 445-0825
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed., 1:30PM, Room 112

Judiciary
Chair: Bill Lockyer (D)
Democrats: Keene, Marks, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Davis (Vice-Chair), Leslie, Royce
Consultants: Greg Schmidt, James Provenza, Andrea Rosa-Tedla, Gene W. Wong, Patricia A. Wynne
Secretary: Linda Hashimoto-Myers
2032 Capitol Building 445-5957
Meets: Tues., 1:30PM, Room 4203

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Local Government
Chair: Marian Bergeson (R)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Ayala (Vice-Chair), Calderon, C. Green, Thompson
Republicans: Craven, Hill, Russell
Consultants: Peter M. Detwiler, David A. Kiff
Secretary: Sharon Jennings
2085 Capitol Building 445-9748
Meets: Wed., 9:30AM, Room 112

Natural Resources and Wildlife
Chair: Dan McCorquodale (D)
Democrats: Hart (Vice-Chair), Johnston, Keene, Marks, Mello, Rosenthal
Republicans: Bergeson, Davis, Leslie, Rogers
Consultants: Mark P. Hite, Mary K. Shallenberger, Peter A. Szego
Secretary: Shirley G. Smaage
2031 Capitol Building 445-5441
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues., 9:30AM, Room 4203

Public Employment and Retirement
Chair: Cecil Green (D)
Democrats: Johnston, McCorquodale
Republicans: Royce (Vice-Chair), Lewis
Consultant: David B. Felderstein
Secretary: Nancy Shipley
2203 Capitol Building 445-8958
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon., 1:30PM, Room 2040

Revenue and Taxation
Chair: Wadie P. Deddeh (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Boatwright, Dills, B. Greene, Lockyer, Rosenthal
Republicans: Morgan (Vice-Chair), Hill
Consultants: Martin F. Helmke, Anne M. Maitland, Johnnie Lou Rosas
Secretary: Carol Thomas
4072 Capitol Building 445-3808
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed., 1:30PM, Room 3191

Rules
Chair: David Roberti (D)
Democrats: Mello, Petris
Republicans: Craven (Vice-Chair), Beverly
Executive Officer: Clifford Berg
Secretary: Pat Webb
400 Capitol Building 445-4311
Meets: Wed., 1:30PM, Room 113

Toxics and Public Safety Management
Chair: Art Torres (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Lockyer, Rosenthal, Watson
Republicans: Leonard (Vice-Chair), Leslie
Consultants: Robert Fredenburg, Manuel P. Hernandez
Secretary: Jolyne T. Budmark
2080 Capitol Building 324-0894
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon., 1:30PM, Room 112

Transportation
Chair: Quentin L. Kopp (I)
Democrats: McCorquodale (Vice-Chair), Ayala, Boatwright, C. Green, Killea, Vuich
Republicans: Bergeson, Morgan, Russell
Consultants: Mehdi Morshed, Steven J. Schnaidt
Secretary: Jone D. McCarthy
2195 Capitol Building 445-3182
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues., 1:30PM, Room 112

Veterans Affairs
Chair: Charles Calderon (D)
Democrats: Ayala, Deddeh, Dills, Thompson (D)
Republicans: Rogers (Vice-Chair), Beverly
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E. Dotsun Wilson, Chief Clerk
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California's Legislative Process

Initial steps by author

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.
Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Appropriations Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriations measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING

Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to agree, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee may be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor may sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.
Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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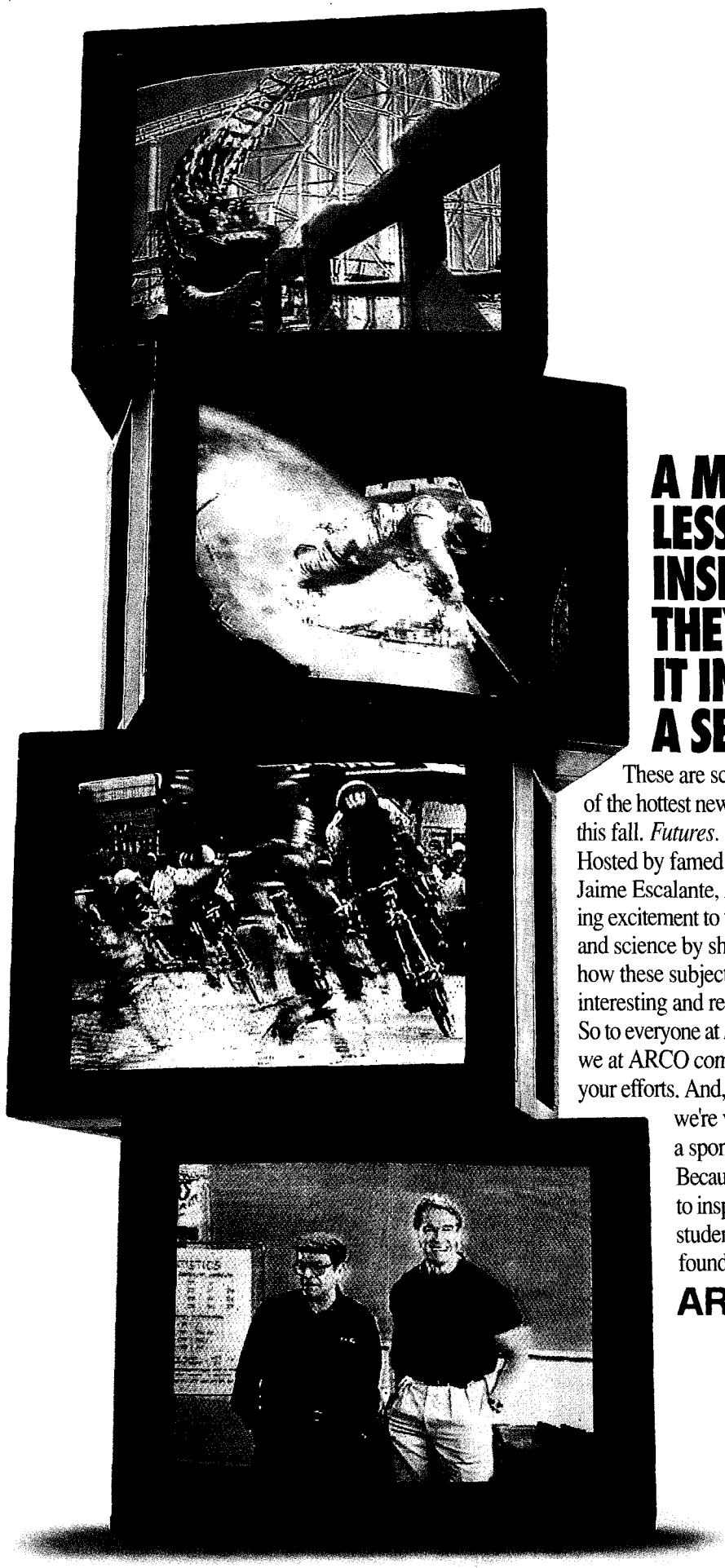

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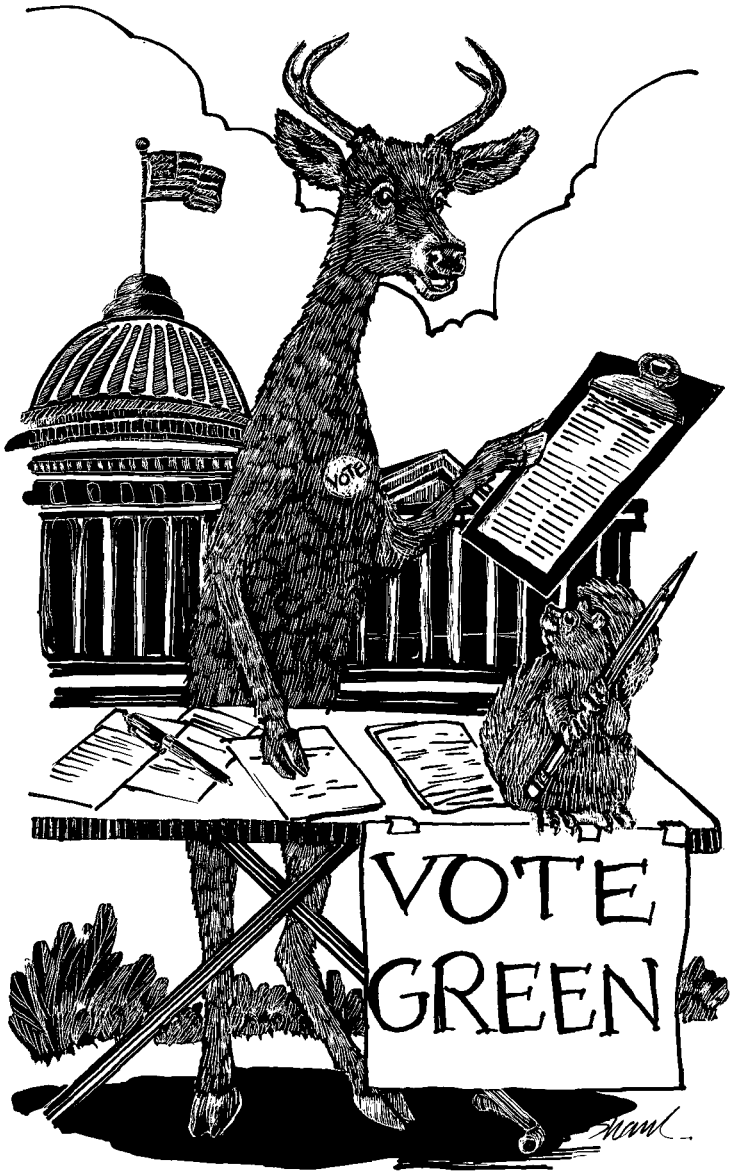

New party has Democrats seeing ... Green

By Christian Ettinger and A.G. Block

Who are they?

Check out their political agenda: public financing of campaigns; pro-choice on abortion; universal health care; radical cuts in military spending; bans on clear-cutting forests, pesticides, animal-growth hormones and offshore oil drilling; basic rights for housing, child care, education and employment for all — regardless of race or sexual orientation.

The Democratic Party, you say?

Try again — Democrats hate them.

Surely not the Republican Party?

No, but Republicans — including some of the more conservative — like them and wish them well.

Confused?

They're — ta da — the Green Party. And as of January 1, 1992, they'd registered 96,354 Californians under their banner — substantially more than the 80,000 signatures needed to qualify us for a spot on the 1992 ballot. Come June, they'll be right in there with Democrats and Republicans and Libertarians and American Independents and Peace and Freedomites.

The Green Party is the first new party to qualify for the California ballot since the Libertarians appeared in 1980. Two other so-called "third parties" were founded in 1968: the American Independent Party and the Peace and Freedom Party.

The decision to launch the Greens' voter-registration effort in California grew out of a dream by activist Kent Smith, a Sacramentan who has since become state party chairman. According to Smith, he dreamed about a lush soccer field where two teams held sway. Smith and his fellow activists were relegated to the bleachers. "I saw us sitting on our hands while Republicans and Democrats dominated the field of public policy," Smith said. Motivated by that dream, Smith helped organize a meeting of 60 like-minded activists from around the state. And from that meeting, held in Sacramento in February 1990, came the decision to launch a statewide voter-registration drive meant to put Greens on the 1992 ballot.

The California Green Party is part of an national environmental movement known as the Green Committees of Correspondence, a nationwide organization formed in 1984 and made up of more than 200 local groups across the United States. About 40 of these groups are in California. It is modeled after European Green parties, which were successful in gaining significant political influence in the 1980s, especially in Germany and in Sweden. In the United States, the Greens already have made it on the ballot in Alaska and expect to make it soon in Hawaii, Arizona and Pennsylvania.

To qualify in California, the Green Party mounted a volunteer-driven voter-registration drive that featured tables at supermarkets, college campuses and civic and shopping centers across the state. According to Smith, the Green Party drive was unique because it was a statewide effort that was localized, featuring separate drives in what Smith called "10 autonomous regions."

"It was truly a grass-roots effort," said Smith. "We are not a centralized party. We are decentralized, and we think our success proved that you can succeed statewide using autonomous regions." As to be expected, the party was most

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Christian Ettinger is a California Journal *intern. A.G. Block is managing editor of the* Journal.

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suc-cessful recruiting members from the nine-county San Francisco Bay area, which supplied more than 51,000 signatures.

The Greens' recruiting drive snared a cross section of Californians. According to Hank Chapot, a Bay Area Green activist, 20 to 30 percent of those who signed up for the Green Party were previously unregistered, 50 percent were former Democrats and 20 to 30 percent were former Republicans. There were even a few Peace and Freedom converts.

The Greens registration drive may have come along at just the right time because of widespread dissatisfaction with business-as-usual politics. "You just have to spend one weekend registering voters to realize how great a demand exists for an alternative party," said Shelley Martin, director of the San Francisco registration drive.

The state Democratic Party is less than enthusiastic about the Greens' presence on the ballot because it sees it as a threat to the Democratic voter base. Bob Mulholland, the Democrats' political director, warned that the Greens actually could harm the environmental movement by weakening Democrats and giving Republicans and their business allies more room to exploit the environment. According to the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, Mulholland was so concerned about the Green threat that he tried to squelch the Greens' voter-registration effort by offering jobs to Green organizers Joe Louis Hoffman and Hank Chapot and by sending out a mailing to Green Party members urging them to abandon the party before the December 31st deadline.

"All other parties are enemies. The Greens are no different than the Republicans," Mulholland told the *Guardian*. "If the Greens became a party in California, Republicans will be the happiest party in the state."

Mulholland denied the charges levelled at him in the *Guardian*. "The story ... was one of the most inaccurate stories I've ever read. I never made an offer to Hank Chapot, but he did come up and visit me here in Sacramento and jokingly said to me, 'Make me an offer.' As for Joe Louis Hoffman, he had previously worked in a Democratic voter-registration drive. I called to rehire him and had no idea he worked for the Greens. Finally, I am considering a mailing to Green voters in retaliation for a Green mailing to 18,000 registered Democratic voters signed by David Brower with a voter registration card enclosed."

Mulholland also responded in a letter to the *Bay Guardian*. "While the Democrats backed crucial state initiatives like Big Green and Prop 65, the toxics initiative, where were the Greens?" he asked. "The Republicans opposed us, and the Greens were meeting in a mountain retreat, I guess."

The *Guardian* article also inferred that California Republicans offered to fund the Green Party's ballot drive — a charge hotly denied by the Greens. "We have no money," said Chapot. "This is a volunteer effort."

Party chairman Kent Smith, however, did acknowledge that an anonymous "angel" stepped forward with a $20,000 donation to fund a last-minute paid, signature-gathering drive that added 10,000 members to the Greens' roll. Smith said the extra signatures turned out not to be necessary.

Not all Democratic Party officials agreed with Mulholland's gloom-and-doom assessment. Said one party spokesperson: "A Green Party could strengthen the hand of our progressive wing. We'll be able to say, 'Look, if we don't address environmental issues, we'll lose people to the Greens.'"

According to Smith, party activists are split on how best to proceed with involvement in the upcoming election. Some want no Green candidates because they feel the party isn't ready to compete and could emerge from the elections with the image of a loser. Others feel the party ought to gain electoral experience by running candidates everywhere. Still others want the party to run candidates in selected legislative and congressional races where Green candidates could help decide an election by playing the role of spoiler. Ultimately, Smith said, the decision on whom to run, and where to run, will be left to local Green regions.

Chapot indicated that if the Greens plunge into the 1992 elections with slates of candidates, the bulk of the party's focus will be on city council and supervisorial races.

Party officials want it understood that the Greens are not just an environmental party but are concerned with linking environmental issues with economic, peace and social-justice issues. Many of the party's leaders are veteran activists from single-issue causes like pro-choice, disarmament and toxics.

The Greens have a nine-point platform that goes beyond caring for the environment. Among other things, it stresses electoral reform and campaign funding limits, public financing of campaigns, term limits and more statewide initiatives. It also calls for universal health care; rights to housing, child care, education and employment to all regardless of race or sexual orientation; steep cuts in military spending; and a multi-cultural curriculum in education. The Greens also are pro-choice on abortion. And, of course, they are staunch for laws that protect the environment: elimination of unnecessary packaging and a recyling model that provides a market for recycled products; bans on pesticides, animal growth hormones, clear-cutting of forest lands and offshore oil drilling.

The Green platform is similar to that of the Peace and Freedom Party, but P&F officials do not feel threatened. Maureen Smith, a representative from the Peace and Freedom Party, does not feel as though the Greens invaded their electoral territory. "The Greens will be a positive addition to the ballot," she said, adding that there is a large enough pool of dissatisfied and unregistered voters to keep both parties on the ballot. "There is room enough for both parties to thrive," Smith said. "What we need is an ambitious voter registration to bring all these non-voters into the political process."

Next on their agenda, according to Hank Chapot, is the goal of a half-million registered voters statewide. "We're nowhere near our saturation level," he said. "Even in the Bay Area, where we've gotten most of our voters, there remain many more potential Greens."

"We're determined to do things differently," said party chairman Smith, referring to the Greens' emphasis on local autonomy and grass-roots organizing. "That's more important that winning elections."

Even if a Green candidate never wins an election in California, Smith considers the party successful because California is a bellweather state. He predicts that, because of his party's success in California, Greens will be on the ballot in a majority of states by 1994. The Greens' success in California has, in Smith's words, "galvanized voter registration efforts all over the country. They tell us, 'If you can do it in California, we can do it anywhere.'"

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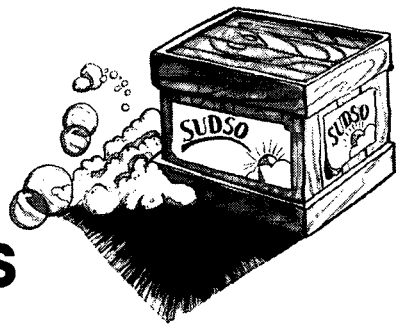
SOAPBOX



Nine Golden Rules for Budget Reform

By Jeffery Chapman

As Governor Pete Wilson, state legislators and state fiscal agencies once again grapple with the daunting task of putting together a state budget in a time of economic stress, it's time to establish a better framework for evaluating the variety of unpleasant options on the table.

The current budget shortfall — recently estimated by the Legislative Analyst's office to rise as high as $6.6 billion by next year — is a result of two fundamental forces, one structural and one economic. Structural forces revolve around the inability to make difficult political decisions; economic forces refer to problems caused by recessions when state revenues fall because of reduced business, sales and income taxes and state expenditures rise in response to growing demands for social services.

To begin to free itself from both of these patterns, California should heed nine "golden rules" for budgetary policy-making. State government needs to face the realities of long-term budget reform and try to mitigate the ever-present causes of budget woes.

Devising remedies for these problems is a simple task; implementing them is not. Nonetheless, the following rules should serve as a guide for policy-makers when evaluating new taxes or program cuts in order to fund future state budgets.

- **Rule 1:** Public budget decisions must be made in the context of the economic and physical environment of the state. California faces increasing competition from neighboring states for economic activity, and the employment-generating private sector is sensitive to public regulations, taxes and services delivered. Whenever any government makes a fiscal decision, it must be analyzed in this context. Without continued economic growth, the economic well-being of the state will decline, but without careful planning this same growth could lead to environmental problems. The trade-offs must be carefully considered as budget decisions are implemented.
- **Rule 2:** Any budget solution for short-term problems must examine the implications for long-term structural effects. Because budget deficits are caused in part by more dramatic short-term economic factors, these often tend to be emphasized when budget solutions are proposed. Short-term solutions — such as quickly broadening the tax base, raising tax rates and cutting payments in social services — have long-term structural implications. In response to such quick fixes, the tax system becomes yet more pro-cyclical, which leads to expansion of revenues during good times (often consumed by service expansion) and even more pain during bad times. Revenue diversification, including special taxes, user charges and fees, and a reconsideration of eligibility criteria rather than welfare payment cuts, are better ways of solving the budget dilemma.
- **Rule 3:** New programs should have an identifiable source of funding before being implemented. The national Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 mandated that any new entitlement or entitlement enhancement must contain an offset or an increase in revenues. Something similar should be implemented (with perhaps a sunset provision) at the state level for the next several years.
- **Rule 4:** Make the current services baseline budget a concept, not a practice. The baseline budget for any program should be presented with information on current spending levels, real per capita expenditures and assumptions about caseload change and the inflation rate used in calculating the baseline figures. Traditional accounting gimmicks should be disallowed and a rough calculation of productivity changes should be undertaken. No change (the current practice) is inevitably incorrect.
- **Rule 5:** Be careful with revenue forecasts. Many state revenue estimates are based on data from national econometric models. To the extent that national models are inaccurate, state forecast will have errors as well. And as the economy becomes more complex, the probability for error increases.
- **Rule 6:** Discourage narrow caseload-driven programs. If it is impossible either to force programs to identify funding sources prior to adoption or to control entitlements, at the very least narrowly defined programs that are caseload driven should be discouraged. This is difficult to do because a program can be defined initially as costing very little if eligibility requirements are strict. This could lead to myriad narrow programs, each with its own special interest. Once implemented, eligibility requirements are typically loosened and expenditures rapidly grow.
- **Rule 7:** Protect reserve funds. Ever since pre-Proposition 13 days, there has been a deeply rooted fear in state government of allowing a surplus to accumulate. It is difficult to budget for a surplus. There are always unmet demands, and the opportunity costs of maintaining a surplus often appear too high. Unfortunately, this exacerbates most bud-

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Jeffrey I. Chapman is a professor of Public Administration and director of the University of Southern California Sacramento Center. This article is a excerpt from a chapter in "California Policy Choices, Volume Seven," which is published by USC School of Public Administration.

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get problems. With a reserve cushion there is ultimately more certainty in the budget, as on-going programs can count on cuts being partially offset.

- **Rule 8:** Don't solve short-run problems with long-run solutions. Most analysts are aware that long-run problems should not be resolved with short-run solutions. But it is also important to recognize that overreacting to a short-term problem by imposing major structural reforms may be inefficient. It would be a mistake, for example, to cut back on programs with long-run benefits but high short-run costs.
- **Rule 9:** Remember that negotiations can lead to gimmickry as well as solutions. The conventional wisdom is that if the parties to a budget disagreement can be brought to the table, and enough pressure is applied, then a legitimate and rational budget compromise can be obtained. Such compromises, however, may not produce the best long-run solution. The pressures to adopt a budget may well exceed those to ensure that the budget solution makes sense.

California is not alone when it comes to budget problems. During 1991, 34 states also confronted major fiscal distress and 20 of them proposed income or sales tax increases. But the Golden State often has been a trend-setter in public policy. The current budget debate, coming so close on the heels of national attention focused on the resolution of the California's $14.3 billion deficit in 1991, will be watched with great interest. Many of the nine rules of budget reform just outlined will, no doubt, run into political obstacles. Nonetheless, there is growing pressure on California to put together a coherent, long-term plan for fiscal responsibility. These nine golden rules, if applied properly, would ensure that the governor and the Legislature would not continue to erase the red ink with questionable short-run fixes that may threaten not only reputations, but the very fabric of life in an already tarnished Golden State.

ROSTRUM

Dan Lungren

Your article on Attorney General Dan Lungren (see *CJ*, January 1992) brings to mind a precept which should apply to all government-employed lawyers: Government should not play "gotcha" against its citizens simply for the sake of prevailing. As a federal regulatory chairman and as a state officeholder, I implored our legal staffs not to indulge in the one-upping, rug-pulling tactics seen in private litigation. Government, instead, owes a duty to the whole body politic to be fair, to present all facts (not just one side) and to be open and forthcoming rather than conspiratorial and cunning. That's a hard lesson for lawyers, trained in adversarial procedures, to learn.

This precept is particularly applicable to the civil/regulatory law functions of government where, by its very nature, the governmental entity is the investigator, prosecutor, grand jury, judge and jury — all at the same time. Undue process is almost endemic with that type of structure and must be consciously avoided.

It would seem that Dan Lungren is practicing this precept and thus protecting us from undue process. Both conservatives and liberals should applaud his effort.

WILLIAM T. BAGLEY
San Francisco

Cowabunga

I was appalled at the cover of the January 1992 issue of *California Journal*. I am unable to understand how it was necessary for a beautiful young lass in a swimsuit and in a ridiculous, modified-squatting position, to illustrate your caption, "Cowabunga: From wetsuits to lawsuits."What next? Perhaps a swimsuit edition?

ROSALIE BROWN
Sacramento

As long-time readers of *California Journal*, we were sincerely disappointed in the January 1992 cover featuring a scanty, revealing wet-suit-clad woman. Not only was this picture an offensive objectification of women, it was wholly unrelated to the substance of the article. Such gratuitous use of nothing more than "cheesecake" photography belittles your and others' efforts to highlight the professional achievements of women in government and serves to perpetuate stereotypes of women as objects to be looked at and not respected. As a journal who aims to educate the professional community about politics and government, you would do well to educate yourselves about respect for women.

MARGARET TAYLOR
Director
San Mateo County Department
of Health Services
And 17 Others

Derailing initiatives

Your article on derailing initiatives (see *CJ*, January 1992) contained several factual errors. First, the article implies that the health-insurance industry "opposes everything" relating to solving the health-care crisis. This is untrue. As we made clear through various means, the industry has sponsored insurance-underwriting reforms to guarantee access and renewal of health-insurance policies. Further, we believe the core of this crisis is the cost of health care, and we support health-care cost-containment measures and managed care.

Second, the Consumer Health Insurance Coalition (CHIC), the alliance that battled the initiative, was funded by the Health Insurance Association of American, the Association of California Life Insurance Companies and the American Council of Life Insurance — not by Aetna and Travelers Insurance, as the article states. This was an undertaking of these associations, not of individual companies.

Finally, it is not true that the CHIC effort was launched solely to dissuade CMA from going forward with its initiative. That was a component of an overall coalition-building effort. CHIC was formed as an outreach to small business, agriculture and other groups who were likely allies in a campaign against the initiative. Only when it was clear that the medical community itself was getting cold feet about the initiative did an element of the strategy shift to dissuading the CMA from going forward.

BRAD WENGER
President, Association of California Life Insurance Companies

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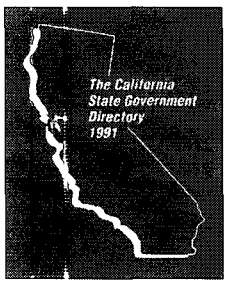

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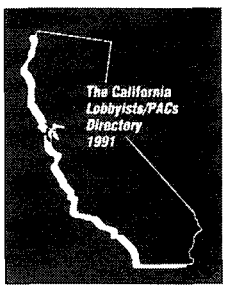

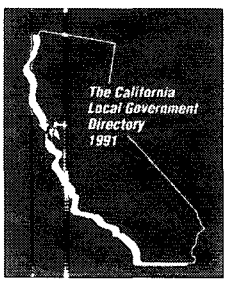

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Saving the Sierra

Master plan for the Range of Light

By Dan Blackburn

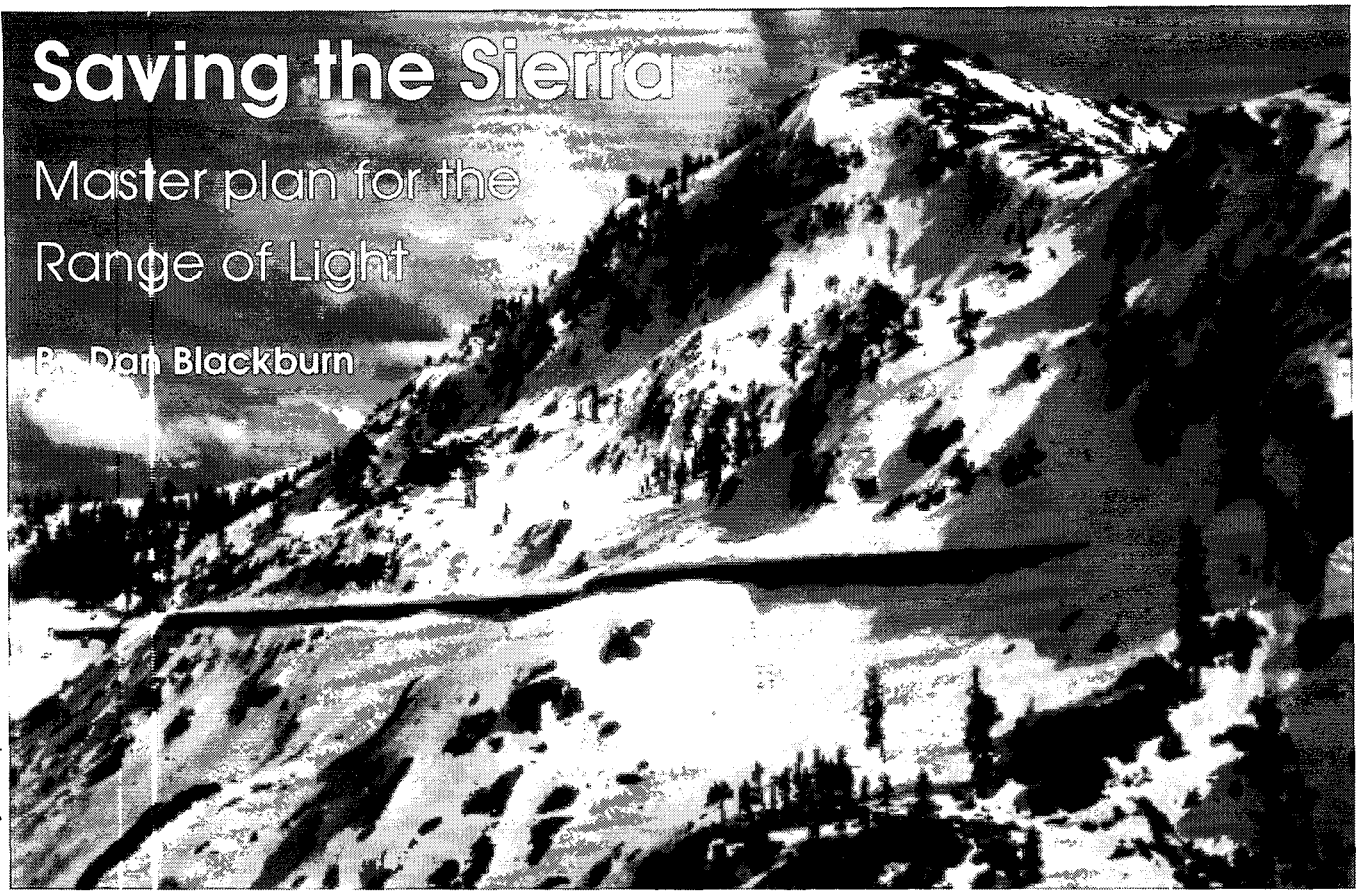

Photo by the Dept. of Water Resources

"No Sierra landscape that I have seen holds anything truly dead or dull, or any trace of what in manufactories is called rubbish or waste; everything is perfectly clean and pure and full of divine lessons"

— John Muir
July 27, 1869

Even when John Muir wrote those words, the Sierra Nevada was coming under siege. Sheep, which he helped herd, were devastating meadows and, through diseases they carried, already pushing the wild bighorn sheep to the brink of extinction. And the impact of logging and mining caused Muir to write angrily, "Our government is like a rich and foolish spendthrift who has inherited a magnificent estate in perfect order and then has left his fields and meadows, forests and parks, to be sold and plundered and wasted."

But it has taken local, state and federal officials a century of prodding to begin to come to grips with not only the present but the future of what Muir called the "Range of Light." And indeed, 1992 may be the "Year of the Sierra."

This past November, the stage was set for dealing with what has become a multitude of problems plaguing what many would call the nation's most magnificent mountain range. Some 150 people from government, industry, academia and environmental groups gathered at the old Stanford University lodge on the shore of Fallen Leaf Lake not far from Lake Tahoe. While the season's first major snowstorm swirled outside, the conferees attempted to take the pulse of the Sierra. Although the range is in ill health, they concluded, it is not beyond recovery.

The tone of the conference was set by Governor Pete Wilson. Although budget problems prevented him from attending, Wilson declared: "The Sierra is an almost sacred place. It has been an important part of our past. And we must be sure that it remains an important part of our future." But it quickly became clear that the conference attendees were divided over the shape of that future. And pickets outside managed to make their voices heard through the log walls of the conference center.

Indeed, although efforts clearly were made to make the conference as inclusive as possible in the short time during which it was organized, some key groups felt left out in the cold. And none felt left out more strongly than those who make their living from harvesting the resources of the Sierra. Among the people tramping through the falling snow outside the conference was Chris Conrad from United Forest Families. To those who would listen, Conrad argued: "We love the woods. The woods are our future. That's why we're up here. We want to protect our future. And we don't want a group of arrogant environmentalists and government officials telling us how to run our lives."

But inside the Sierra Summit, it was clear that the days of timber-industry dominance in the forests — along with those of grazing, mining and other developmental industries — were on the wane. Nonetheless, development voices were heard. William Dennison of the California Forestry Association, an industry organization, contended: "We need to work toward change. But, for anyone to impose new regulations because of buzz words such as 'biodiversity' and 'cumulative effects' and 'ancient forests' just for the sake of that, would be wrong. I think the politics are out ahead of science right now."

However, it was the response of the U.S. Forest Service, long considered a timber-industry ally, that clearly showed

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Dan Blackburn is the Los Angeles correspondent for CNN.

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which way the future lies in the Sierra. As Forest Service Regional Forester Ron Stewart put it: "We're gonna see more concern about wildlife. We're gonna see more concern about recreation. There will continue to be timber production on the national forests. That's one of the mandates we have from Congress. But it will be at a lower level." The significance of that development is emphasized when it is pointed out that the Forest Service is the single largest landholder in the Sierra.

The Sierra Nevada, itself, is the longest continuous mountain range in the United States. It stretches 430 miles along the spine of California and along the way it encompasses 18 counties, nine national forests, three national parks and a half-dozen climatic zones. An eight-month study of the Sierra and its problems published last June by *The Sacramento Bee* was the key factor that resulted in the holding of the Sierra Summit. It remains the most comprehensive current review of the region. Among its findings were: air pollution levels in Sequoia National Park higher than those in Los Angeles; streams polluted with toxic chemicals from abandoned mines; and wildlife habitat including trout streams destroyed by over-grazing of sheep and cattle and widespread timber harvesting.

And the pressure on the Sierra is growing. Six of the counties included in the Sierra are among the 10 fastest growing in all of California. At the Sierra Summit, Ted Bradshaw of the University of California predicted that the population of the region will double in the next 20 years — soaring to nearly two million people. And that does not include the rising tide of tourists who visit the Sierra for recreation. Not only does the Sierra boast three famous national parks (Yosemite, Sequoia and Kings Canyon), but it also includes Lake Tahoe and a total of 20 major ski resorts. About the only activity that appears to have decreased in the mountain range is backpacking. The number of people actually packing into the back country is down. But front country use continues to climb.

California Resources Secretary Douglas Wheeler, whose office organized the summit and who served as the meeting's chairman, noted that the population pressure amounts to a ticking time bomb for the Sierra. In his words: "We need to protect the future as much as we have been concerned in the past with the maintenance of its resources. And we don't have much time to do that given the urgency of these population numbers." Indeed, some sense of urgency was one of the things many of the conference participants took away with them.

All of this was rather forcefully brought home to the people who gathered at the conference at Fallen Leaf Lake. As one panel after another made its presentation, the reactions of the listeners — often reactions of surprise — were quite visible. In fact, one of the major contributions of the Sierra Summit was to present the entire scope of the problems in the mountain range to many people who previously had viewed the region from a much more narrow perspective. Afterward, Bob Hattoy of the Sierra Club observed: "The whole Sierra Nevada range and the whole issue of logging is now being looked at as a bigger issue than just timber-versus-environmentalists and home builders-versus-local government. I think we have to look at this as an issue like Grand Canyon or Chesapeake Bay or Yosemite or something that's a natural resource and a natural resource that has to be protected for everybody."

Early in the conference, people from various parts of the Sierra, especially local-government officials, could be seen comparing notes and exclaiming over the discovery that what was taking place in one part of the lengthy mountain range had a bearing on another part of the range. It was clear that many had more or less taken the Sierra for granted and often seen only that section of it with which they personally were most familiar. But looking at the Sierra as a whole was something new. After sitting in on the sessions, the Sierra Club's Darryl Young said: "Now what they are realizing is that it's not just an isolated area. It's being very connected. And we're finding whole areas of the Sierra biologically collapsing. We want to try to shore that up on a short-term schedule. On the long-term schedule, we want to try to develop a balance. And I think that's the good message we're getting from this." At least, it was one of the messages.

The summit, itself, produced no decisions on possible solutions to the problems of the Sierra. Nor was it expected to do so. But one idea that drew some support and may shape the long-term response to the Sierra was a call for the creation of a "Range of Light" national park. In effect, what this would do would be to expand the three existing parks now within the Sierra to include virtually the entire mountain range and put its management under one jurisdiction instead of the multiple agencies that now oversee various parts of the Sierra. At this point, however, U.S. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, whose depart-

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ment probably would have to take on that task, has been cool to the idea.

While he has not endorsed the Range of Light park concept, Wheeler has been a strong proponent of "bioregional" councils as a way to manage entire ecosystems in a cohesive way. And some critics — most notably in the timber industry — have suggested that Wheeler has some secret agenda to eliminate the role of local government in the Sierra. Wheeler denies such a motive but does argue that the Sierra is a regional resource and could best be managed by an integrated bioregional council that would co-ordinate the efforts of federal, state and local officials.

Some weeks after the summit, Wheeler offered his own assessment of what had been accomplished. He said: "The most important result of that meeting was the realization on the part of people that by sitting down, discussing these issues and identifying respective solutions, we can make real progress. The polarization of the past is not useful in terms of actually solving environmental issues. And, so, we've got a consensus now about the need to address these issues. No immediate solutions to all of them but a willingness to work on those solutions which is new." And Wheeler has asked the Sierra Summit steering committee to take a longer look at the bioregional council concept.

Meanwhile, plans are well underway for a second and much larger Sierra Summit to be held this spring under the auspices of environmentalists rather than government officials. However, the plans call for involving all interested parties and an effort to make sure no one feels left out. Even special pre-meeting hearings are being scheduled. As Kevin Sweeney of Environment Now, which is the principle organizer of the second summit, explained, "By having a hearing in virtually every county in the Sierra, I think it will show people that we are listening, that we are interested in getting input from the local community because we can't do this without concern for the economic vitality of the region as well."

The abiding question, of course, is when will all the talking about the Sierra and its problems begin to produce some serious results? And on that score, no one is offering any predictions. But for the first time since John Muir's day, the mountains that Muir dubbed the Range of Light stand a chance of actually seeing a new and healthier dawn.

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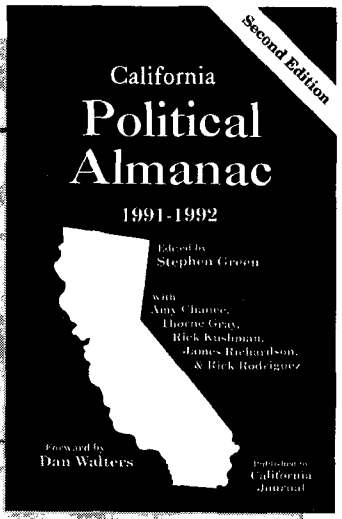

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 384,973 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 615,958. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. To qualify for the November 1992 ballot, it is suggested that signatures be submitted by April 17, 1992. The full texts of all initiatives may be obtained from the secretary of state's election division, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814.*

New in circulation:

TERM LIMITS. BOARDS OF SUPERVISORS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Proposition 140 guru Pete Schabarum of Los Angeles, that sets a two-term limit for members of boards of supervisors in counties or cities and counties with populations that exceed 100,000. Counties with less than 100,000 population would be authorized to enact term limits through ordinance or local initiative. Former board members out of office for the three preceding years would be eligible to run. This is one of three Schabarum-sponsored initiatives dealing with various term limits currently in circulation. (May 5th)

CONGRESSIONAL TERM LIMITS — the second of three initiative constitutional amendments sponsored by Pete Schabarum. This measure bans anyone who has served as a U.S. senator from California for nine or more successive years from being elected or appointed to the U.S. Senate for at least five years following the person's last senatorial service. In addition, it excludes anyone serving in the U.S. House of Representatives for seven successive years or more from being appointed or elected to the House for a minimum of three years after his or her last service as a representative. (May 5th)

CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES. LIMITATIONS — the third initiative constitutional amendment from Pete Schabarum forbids state election officials from accepting or verifying signatures on nomination papers for any person seeking a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives who has served eight or more of the preceeding 11 years in the House, or from any person seeking to run for the U.S. Senate who has served in that Senate for 12 or more of the previous 17 years. The measure also prevents election officials from placing the names of these persons on the certified list of candidates and from placing their names on any printed ballot materials. (May 5th)

STATE BAR. ELECTED COMMISSIONER. ATTORNEYS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ronald Price of Tustin, that abolishes the State Bar of California board of governors and replaces it with a commissioner to be elected statewide every four years during the gubernatorial election. The commissioner would be an inactive member of the State Bar. The measure also requires that every active member of the State Bar be examined every four years; that disciplinary records resulting in suspension or disbarment be permanently retained as public records; and that conviction for professional misconduct be cause for disbarment. (May 18th)

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' RETIREMENT SYSTEMS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Ted Costa and Cliff Haskell of Sacramento, that grants the board of a public-employee retirement system sole and exclusive authority over the assets and administration of the system. The measure requires board members to administer the system in a way that ensures expedient delivery of benefits to its participants and beneficiaries. It also bans the Legislature from changing the terms, method of selection or removal of board members without the approval of voters in the jurisdiction where the participants in the retirement system are employed. (May 18th)

LIMITATION ON FEES FOR STATE PARKS. ENVIRONMENTAL LICENSE PLATE FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Mark Massara of San Francisco and Glen Spain of Comptche, that bans fee assessments for day use of state coastal parks and beaches and limits the fees charged in state parks (other than beaches) to reasonable and direct costs associated with park maintenance. In addition, fees for environmental license plates would rise. Massara is chief counsel for the Surfrider Foundation (see "Wetsuits to lawsuits," *CJ*, January 1992). (May 21st)

BALANCED BUDGET. TAXES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Lisa Hughes of Coto de Caza, that requires the Legislature to pass a balanced budget by June 15th and bans any postponement of time to pass such a budget. Lawmakers would forfeit all compensation if the deadline is not met and would be banned from receiving retroactive pay once the budget is passed. In addition, the measure calls for the delay of newly imposed taxes until the day before the next November election, unless an emergency is declared. (June 1st)

SALES TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles, that repeals the existing state sales tax on snack foods and medicines; and prevents state and local agencies from imposing new sales, use or excise taxes on food, medicine, medical devices to the extent that such limitations are permitted by statute. Among other provisions, the measure limits taxes on necessary utilities such as electricity, natural gas, water, telephone service, sewage disposal or fuel oil used for heating. (June 1st)

TAXES. REFERENDUM — an initiative referendum, sponsored by Chris Fellerson of Elk Grove, that repeals by June 1, 1994, all tax increases imposed subsequent to January 1, 1991, except voluntary fees for services for which the government is not the exclusive provider. The measure also prevents special funds or accounts from circumventing a two-thirds vote on specific funding of mandated local programs and amends the constitution to delete existing exception to the electors' referendum power for statutes imposing taxes or appropriations for specified state expenses. (June 1st)

Continuing in circulation:

RECALL OF GOVERNOR WILSON — a petition to recall Governor Pete Wilson, sponsored by Deborah Murray and Teresa Squier of Sacramento, Herbert Redlack of Carmichael, Sharon Moad of Fair Oaks and Corinne Lavorico of Woodland. (January 16th; September 1991 *CJ*)

CAMPAIGN FUNDING. CONTRIBUTION LIMITS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton. (January 13th; October 1991 *CJ*)

INITIATIVE. REFERENDUM. CITY, CITY AND COUNTY CHARTER — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Gann of Sacramento. (February 7th; October 1991 *CJ*)

TERMINAL ILLNESS. ASSISTANCE IN DYING — an initiative

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statute, sponsored by Robert Risley of Pasadena and Allan Briney of Whittier. (March 5th. November 1991 *CJ*)

EXECUTIONS — an initiative statute sponsored by Thomas Hall of Burbank (March 13th; December 1991 *CJ*)

DEATH PENALTY. PUBLIC EXECUTIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment and companion measure to "Executions," also sponsored by Thomas Hall of Burbank. (March 13th; December 1991 *CJ*)

FIREARMS OWNERSHIP — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield and Bernadine Smith. (March 20th; December 1991 *CJ*)

TAXATION OF FOOD PRODUCTS — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Dick Floyd of Gardena. (March 30th; December 1991 *CJ*)

HEALTH CARE PLAN — an initiative statute, sponsored by Michael Weinstein of Los Angeles. (May 1st, January 1992 *CJ*)

HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION, SEXUAL ORIENTATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Nancy Otto of San Francisco. (May 4th, January 1992 *CJ*)

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION. SEXUAL ORIENTATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Matthew Coles of Berkeley. (May 4th, January 1992 *CJ*)

Failed to qualify:

HEALTH CARE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Stephen Shear of Oakland. (July 1991 *CJ*)

GAMING COMMISSION. SPORTS WAGERING. LOTTERY GAMES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Dick Floyd of Gardena. (July 1991 *CJ*)

LEGAL PRACTICES AND SERVICES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Ken Steenolsen of Belmont Shores and Lennis Holm of Fallbrook. (August 1991 *CJ*)

VACATIONS, WORKERS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Such of Palo Alto. (August 1991 *CJ*)

CIVIL RIGHTS DISCRIMINATORY CONDUCT. HOMOSEXUALITY. BISEXUALITY — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Louis Sheldon of Anaheim, Thomas Kwong Jr. of Sacramento, Frederick Price of Los Angeles, and Larstella Parker of Los Angeles. (December 23, 1991; September 1991 *CJ*)

Withdrawn from circulation:

FORESTRY PRACTICES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Barry Fadem of San Francisco. (September 1991 *CJ*)

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February 7	***Surviving Political Law***	*Sacramento*
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February 20	***Bill Tracking and Analysis***	*Sacramento*
February 21	***Advocacy — what works and what doesn't***	*Sacramento*
February 28	***CONGRESSIONAL PRECEDURE***	*Sacramento*

MARCH

March 11	***Bill Analysis Workshop***	*Sacramento*
March 13	***State Budget Process***	*Sacramento*
March 25	***Legislative Process, Bill Tracking and Analysis***	***Los Angeles***
March 26	***Advocacy and Committee Procedure***	***Los Angeles***

APRIL

April 1	***Bill Analysis Workshop***	*Sacramento*
April 9	***Dymystifying the Legislative Process***	*Sacramento*
April 10	***Committee Procedure and Protocol***	*Sacramento*
April 23	***Bill Tracking and Analysis***	*Sacramento*
April 24	***Rules and Regulations***	*Sacramento*

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Reapportionment

"Phil Burton would be on the rampage, and he would be pursuing every option to change it," said Howard Berman. Representative Berman, a Los Angeles Democrat, was imagining how the bombastic Burton, the late czar of Democratic reapportionment, would have reacted to the map for California's congressional delegation that was drawn by special masters for the state Supreme Court.

A DECADE AGO, SAN FRANCISCO'S POWERFUL Democratic Representative Burton dictated a shamelessly gerrymandered set of congressional district boundaries that all but guaranteed that the state's evenly split House delegation would be reshaped for an era of Democratic dominance. The 45-member delegation is currently split among 26 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

Now, an appointed panel of ex-judges — working at the behest of the Republican-dominated state Supreme Court — has come up with maps that may undo all that Burton accomplished. Assuming the masters' plans stands up to legal challenges that could go all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, the bigger-than-ever California contingent in Congress appears likely to be evenly split once again, with a batch of fiercely competitive swing districts determining party dominance.

"It's a major Republican victory in the sense that we set our goal at creating fair maps and, particularly in California, breaking the Burton gerrymander," said Ben Ginsberg, chief counsel to the Republican National Committee. "The masters' plan appears to create a far more level playing field with a greater number of competitive districts. It's a plan where who controls what will be determined by the voters at each election. It's not the preordained results you saw in the 1980s."

Congressman Bill Thomas, a Bakersfield Republican and a veteran strategist in California's reapportionment battles, said the special masters did a "workmanlike" job. He, too, said the net result will be to make control of the delegation more competitive. "All the arguments that this is the end of Democrats in California and that this is the deliverance of Republicans and we'll get something like 30 seats is fallacious," he said.

Even as Democrats attempt to challenge the masters' plan in the courts as flawed and unfair, they acknowledge that it is not likely to produce a Republican rout, a reverse Burton.

"It's conceivable that you could have 28 or 29 of the 52 seats won by Democrats, so it is not necessarily a disaster," said Berman, who has inherited Burton's role as the Democratic delegation's reapportionment strategist but not Burton's swagger nor his dictatorial powers. "The other side is it could go as low as 21 or 22 seats. There are a lot of swing seats here."

"A lot will depend on whether strong incumbent Democrats run for some of these seats that they could win but we might have trouble holding if they didn't run," Berman said. "Vic Fazio, I believe, would win his district. The same applies to Norm Mineta, George Brown, Rick Lehman. If Tony Beilenson opts for [a new seat rather than a primary challenge to Berman's Los Angeles ally Henry Waxman], I think he'd win it."

All of those mentioned by Berman are entrenched Democrats who face the uncertainty — not to mention the humbling indignity — of losing their cozy, secure, Burton-engineered districts to more competitive, more Republican-inclined constituencies under the masters' plan. To be sure, the map also sent Republican incumbents — including such veterans as Bob Dornan and Robert Lagomarsino — scrambling to find safely conservative districts to replace those they lost.

In an era of voter discontent, the new congressional map could give a needed shake-up to a flock of complacent incumbents. But it also could endanger California's clout in Congress by risking the survival of some of the delegation's most influential members.

"Look, it puts a number of very senior and reasonably powerful California Democrats at risk," said Berman. "That has implications for California that are potentially quite negative. I'm not here to create the picture that this was a great victory for the Democrats. I'm just saying I can make the case that these guys, with a lot of hard work, can win."

It seems ages ago that Burton pushed his map through the Democratic Legislature, boasting of his contribution to "modern art" and arrogantly refusing to provide Republicans with copies of the maps being voted upon. A day or two after Burton's triumph, I remember running into him in the empty Assembly chamber in Sacramento. He all but ordered me to sit down at a lawmaker's desk, then recited from his awesome memory the boundaries and exact populations of district after gerrymandered district. Again and again, he insisted that his handiwork met every technicality of reapportionment law.

These days, reapportionment is handled mostly by technocrats hunched over computer screens, although most who know the process doubt that even the most earnest of aides and the loftiest of courts can purge the remapping exercise of inevitable political biases.

BUT SOME TRENDS ARE INEXORABLE. For all his clout and bluster, even Burton might have been helpless to change the decisions being made this year in California. With the state's greatest population growth in Republican areas, said Thomas: "Burton could not do in 1991 what he did in 1981. You can only bend it so far."

And reapportionment was wrenched from Democratic control because Republican Governor Pete Wilson was on hand to buck the issue to the conservative Supreme Court. "We've got to be realistic about this," said Berman. "The day Dianne Feinstein lost [to Wilson] was the day this process changed."

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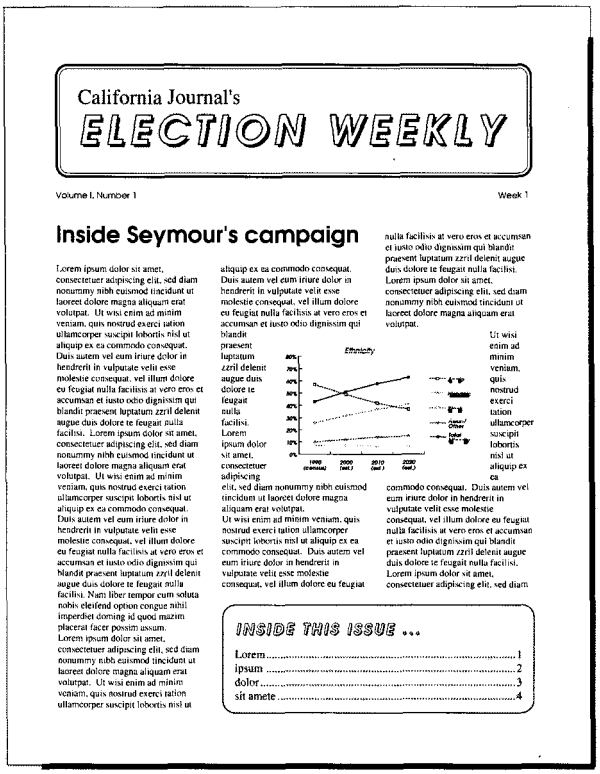

California Journal's
ELECTION WEEKLY

Volume I, Number 1 — Week 1

Inside Seymour's campaign

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Smoking Should Not Be A Part Of Growing Up

A Free Guide For Parents

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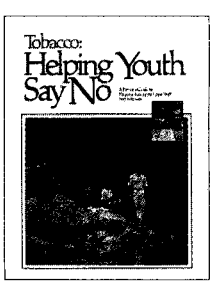

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